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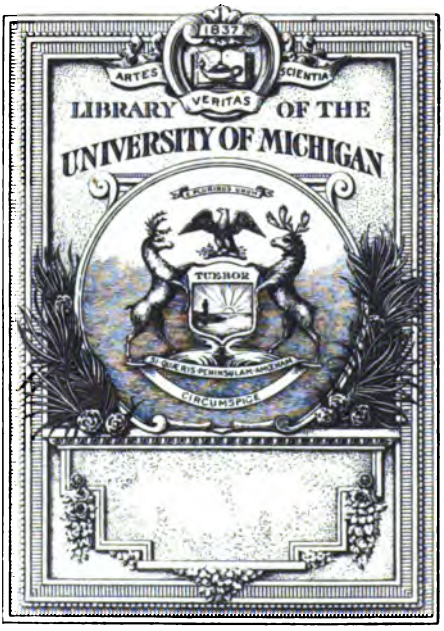
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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME X
October, 1915-July, 1916

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Secretary,
EDITOR

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
1916

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COLUMBIA

forty-one delegates are today so remembered.[2] Indeed the lives of many of these constitution framers are today so hidden, not only from the general public but even from the historian, that only after years of patient labor is it possible to compile sketches of their lives.[3]

This is the more singular when we consider that with few exceptions the convention was composed of the foremost men of Missouri of that day. It included in its membership so many forceful leaders whose remarkable careers and abilities arouse our admiration that it seems unfortunate to be limited to sketches of only the most noted of them. We believe, however, that the most eminent delegates were David Barton, John Rice Jones, Duff Green, Edward Bates, and Henry Dodge. The first four were lawyers; the last was engaged in lead mining and farming. Although in the convention the influence of John D. Cook, Jonathan Smith Findlay, John Scott, or of several other delegates may have been greater that that of Henry Dodge, and perhaps equal to that of Duff Green, we have selected these two on account of their preeminently superior ability and their more remarkable and distinguished careers.

Excepting Jones all five were entering the prime of life. Their average age was not quite thirty-eight years; the youngest, Bates, who next to Baber was the most youthful member of the convention, had not yet completed his twenty-

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. X, No. 1 COLUMBIA OCTOBER, 1915

FATHERS OF THE STATE.

Personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820.[1]
Floyd C. Shoemaker.

It has always seemed strange to us that while much of the pioneer and military history of Missouri is familiarly known to all the United States, the lives of those men that framed and set in working the State's first constitution have excited so little interest even at home. Every school boy west of the Mississippi River and many east of it know something of that Kentucky and Missouri pioneer whose name has been popularly associated with the Boone's Lick Road, or of that famous Missourian who has been so appropriately called the "Xenophon of the Mexican War." Yet the work of either Daniel Boone or Alexander W. Doniphan is equalled in Missouri history by that performed by David Barton, Edward Bates, Nathan Boone, Alexander Buckner, John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, Benjamin L. Emmons, Duff Green, Samuel S. Hammond, John Rice Jones, Alexander McNair, John Scott and many others of the delegates of Missouri's first constitutional convention. While the fame of Boone and Doniphan is fittingly preserved in the two Missouri counties named in their honor, only three of the

[1] This article forms chapter V of the author's work on *Missouri's Struggle For Statehood.*

M. H.

forty-one delegates are today so remembered.[2] Indeed the lives of many of these constitution framers are today so hidden, not only from the general public but even from the historian, that only after years of patient labor is it possible to compile sketches of their lives.[3]

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seventh year; the oldest, Jones, who was one of the four-delegates that had passed the three score mark, was sixty-one years old. Barton and Dodge were entering middle age, being respectively thirty-seven and thirty-eight years old, and Green, one of the three youngest members under thirty, had barely attained the age of twenty-nine. Of these five the first to pass away was Jones, who with two other delegates did not live to see the constitution of 1820 in operation four years; Barton died within seventeen years; while Dodge, Bates, and Green, three of the last four survivors of the convention, lived to see another organic law govern Missouri, a civil war threatening the ruin of the nation, and finally the restoration of peace.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the cosmopolitan character of the convention than the lives of these five men. No two were natives of the same state or territory, and only Dodge and Green were reared in the same state: Bates was born and reared in Virginia; Barton in what is now the State of Tennessee; Green in Kentucky; Jones in Wales and England; and Dodge in what are now the States of Indiana, Kentucky and Missouri. The Bates family was one of the early English families of Virginia; the Bartons were of Scotch descent and dated back to 1546, when they were great merchant captains and as such were called "Kings of the Sea;" the Dodge family was of pure English descent and had early settled in New England, where it grew for over a century and a half before trying its fortunes in the west; the Green family of Kentucky was of Welsh descent, and its first American sire was one of the original owners of the Shenandoah Valley; the Jones family was so ancient in the records of Wales that its history is finally lost in the maze of legends of that country. In this connection we cannot refrain from noticing the remarkable good fortune that has followed the descendents of four of these men. Excepting David Barton, all married and left large families; and some of the members of each have achieved distinction in public life. It is no exaggeration to state that these four men have lineal de-

scendants scattered from ocean to ocean and from the Gulf to Canada.

The most popular man not only in the convention but in Missouri in 1820 was David Barton. A native of Tennessee both by birth and rearing, and a member of one of the oldest families in America, he has always been written of by historians and biographers in the highest terms. He was undoubtedly the most interesting and forceful speaker among the delegates and it is a question whether his superior or even equal as an orator could have been found west of the Mississippi River at that time, not even excepting Benton. And we are certain that this Valley never sent to Congress a more vivacious, witty, sarcastic, and fascinating speaker. Not only was Barton a brilliant speaker but he was also a man of sterling integrity.[4] Until he cast his vote for Adams in 1825, Barton was regarded both at home and throughout the nation as one of its leaders. His downfall in 1830 was due to this act of his in 1825, and to his refusal to align himself with the Jacksonian-Benton Democrats.[5] Barton was one statesman Missouri produced who feared neither Benton nor Jackson, and who alone could meet "Old Bullion" on the floor of the Senate with greater hope of victory than fear of defeat. Few public men in Missouri history have been so idolized, so unanimously raised to the highest public position in the gift of the commonwealth, and so soon retired to private life. His life supplies all the material necessary for a tragedy. After much scheming and working he secured the election of his friend, Benton, to the United States Senate, and this was accomplished only after using his own great popularity to overcome the most stubborn opposition due

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labors—and his entire life a model of success before the bar, on the floor, and in the home.

The pupil of one of the most prominent lawyers in the Mississippi Valley, Rufus Easton, who was also the teacher of that remarkable but unfortunate advocate, Joshua Barton, Edward Bates in turn became the friend and preceptor of the most brilliant and learned member of the Missouri Bar, James C. Broadhead. Although essentially a lawyer, Bates was one of the chief organizers and for decades was the leader of the Whig party in Missouri. Even after the rise of that great Whig statesman, James S. Rollins, he still retained in a large degree the mentorship of his party. While Bates is perhaps better known as a politician than as an advocate, he occupied comparatively few public offices. Some may explain this on the ground of his having belonged to the minority party in Missouri; but we are inclined to credit it to his dislike of office holding. Although Edward Bates was a remarkably successful lawyer, it required his constant efforts in that profession to meet the expense of rearing his large family. To him the holding of public offices was a sacrifice, and it was only because of his highly developed sense of civic duty that he was at times induced to enter actively into public life. Notwithstanding his disinclination along this line, his record in both state and national politics is one of the longest and most successful in the history of the Middle West.

His first office was held at the early age of twenty-four, when he was appointed prosecuting attorney of the Northern Circuit of Missouri Territory; his last public position was enjoyed after he had reached the ripe age of seventy, when he held the office of attorney general in the first cabinet of President Lincoln. During the forty-seven years which intervened between his initiation into and graduation from public life, Edward Bates was elected or appointed to the following offices: Delegate to Missouri's first constitutional convention in 1820; first attorney general of Missouri, 1820; state representative in Missouri legislature, 1822 and 1834; state senator, 1830; United States district attorney for Mis-

souri, 1824; Missouri's second representative in Congress, 1826; appointed secretary of war in 1850 by President Fillmore but refused the office; and judge of the St. Louis Land Court, 1858. Besides holding these offices, he was three times brought prominently before the eyes of the nation. First, in 1847, while president of the first River and Harbor Improvement Convention held in America, Bates attracted the attention of both Canada and the United States. His great speech delivered before that body marks an epoch in the history of Federal aid for internal improvements located off the tide-waters of the seas. This speech was made without previous preparation, and unfortunately, it was very imperfectly recorded. We are told that every reporter present forgot both duty and interest while listening to it and that the copies sent to the offices in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, were the result of a hasty council of the various newspaper representatives who were forced to rely solely on their memory. Notwithstanding this incomplete and very unsatisfactory manner of presentation to the public, the effect of this speech on the nation was electrical. Even that great statesman, John C. Calhoun, who for years had consistently and successfully opposed the position here taken by Bates, was won over by the skill and logic of this exposition of national aid to strictly internal improvements.

The second rise of Bates to national fame was his refusal in 1850 to accept the office of secretary of war in President Fillmore's cabinet. Not only was his appointment to this office unsolicited by Bates but it came as a surprise to him. Conditions for his acceptance were the most propitious, and the country could scarcely credit the news of his refusal. His reason, however, was satisfactory to all. He frankly explained that the cost of rearing his large family, which consisted of seventeen children, prevented his relinquishing even temporarily his lucrative law practice.

In 1856 Bates was president of the National Whig Convention which met in Baltimore. In 1858 Harvard University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws in honor of his ability as a statesman, an orator, and a lawyer. Having

become a Republican, Bates a third time attracted the attention of the nation by being one of the presidential candidates voted on in the Chicago Convention of 1860, and after Lincoln's election he was offered the second choice of cabinet positions, Seward having been placed for the office of Secretary of State. Bates chose the attorney generalship, which he held until 1863-4, when ill health forced his resignation. His death in 1869 was lamented by the entire nation, and his funeral was one of the largest ever witnessed in this commonwealth. The life of Bates was a model in almost every respect. We cannot omit noticing one of his rules which is charged with revelations of character. On the best authority, Bates was never known to accept at law a bad cause however large the fee; and in numerous instances he engaged in a just cause with little or no compensation.[7]

In summarizing the salient features in the lives of Bates and Barton, one sees more points of likeness than contrast, except in regard to their personal habits. Both belong wholly to Missouri; both were lawyers of high rank; both had studied law under able jurists; both were interesting and at times brilliant speakers, and Barton's eloquence frequently reached the finish and polish of oratory; both were politicians and belonged to the same party; both were exceedingly popular, and Bates exerted an influence, both at home and over the nation, out of all proportion to the strength of his party in Missouri; and both died without having accumulated any considerable amount of property.

When we turn, however, to compare the lives of Jones and Dodge we are struck with the relatively few points of likeness and the large number of contrasts. The career of each is today the prized possession of three American commonwealths, Jones belonging to the history of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and Dodge of Missouri, Iowa, and Wis-

[7] Bates left a large number of descendants, some of whom achieved distinction in public life. One son, Barton Bates, held the high position of a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri and the office of attorney general; another, John Bates, was breveted lieutenant-colonel for his services in the Union army during the Civil War, and in 1898, at the breaking out of the Spanish-American War, was made brigadier-general in the regular army.

consin. Each left large families, each a son who was elected a Territorial Delegate to Congress and who later became a United States Senator. On the other hand, Jones was the possessor of one of the finest educations possible in his time and which he had obtained in the oldest of English universities; Dodge had received very little schooling, and had obtained his entire education principally by rough experience with men and by self-instruction. The one was a scholar, and an accomplished linguist in six languages; the other was familiar with only the English tongue and various Indian dialects. One was at the head of the legal profession of the west and knew personally every important member of the bar in that section; the other became at one time the most popular and the most celebrated military leader north of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi rivers, and had camped with friends and foes from the Canada line to the Arkansas River and from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains. One was an eloquent and forceful speaker; the other, a man of few words and prone to physical action. Jones starting with nothing amassed an immense fortune; Dodge inheriting a large estate lost much of it, and, although prosperous in most of his mining enterprises, never accumulated more than a moderate competence, owing to his liberality. While Jones was never more than a candidate for election to the United States Senate, Dodge rose step by step from the office of deputy sheriff in the Territory of Louisiana to the governorship of Wisconsin Territory, was elected a delegate to Congress from that Territory, and finally became a United States Senator from the state of Wisconsin. It is even reported that if Dodge had allowed his name to be used against Van Buren's in 1844, he would have been nominated and elected president instead of Polk.

General Henry Dodge, or "Honest Harry Dodge" as he was affectionately called by the West, was born at Post Vincennes, October 12, 1782, of English and Scotch-Irish parents. His minority was spent under his mother's guidance in Kentucky and later under his father's direction in upper Louisiana. His military career began early in 1806 and

continued for nearly three decades; his civil career covered a period of over half a century. The former won him a place in popular favor next to that occupied by General Jackson; the latter raised him to the high honor of being appointed the first governor of the original Territory of Wisconsin and also of holding that office two terms after the separation of Iowa Territory; of being elected the Territorial delegate to Congress from Wisconsin, when a change in national politics had lost him his former position; and finally of being elected the first United States Senator from the state of Wisconsin. Although not a great man either in war or in politics, Dodge was an eminently successful one in both. His talents were essentially those of a leader, having been so endowed by nature in both mind and body and so trained by an active life among frontiersmen and Indians. Since the achievements of Dodge in the field are familiar to students of western history, we will turn to his less known though perhaps equally interesting and valuable career in politics.

In politics Dodge was a staunch Democrat, and a warm, personal friend of Jackson and Benton. As the chief executive of Wisconsin Territory he exerted the greatest influence in the enacting of good laws, both by forceful and decisively worded messages and by his direct influence over the members of the legislature. He had that rare faculty of being able to maintain his prerogatives as an official without making enemies. His success in dealing with scores of Indian tribes both in peace and war was marked and to them he was one of the most feared and respected men in the west. The red sons of the forest and plain, whether enemies or friends, relied on the word of Henry Dodge when the threats and promises of other leaders had failed to move them. His strong common sense and fundamental honesty is shown in his refusal either to meddle in the fight over the location of the capital of Wisconsin Territory or to accept as a gift any lots in Madison.

After entering the halls of Congress, he always felt bound by the instructions of his legislature even though at times these were contrary to his personal convictions. He

consistently advocated internal improvements, an adequate military force on the frontier, a duty on lead, and cheap land. His convictions on the land question were so statesmanlike that we marvel at the comparative silence of his biographers on this subject. As governor of Wisconsin Territory in his second annual message of November 7, 1837, he said: "Land was the immediate gift of God to man, and from the earliest history of the world was designed for cultivation and improvement, and should cease to be an object of speculation." "Speculators in the public lands have purchased large tracts east of the Mississippi in this Territory, which remain waste until they will sell for the highest price; thereby retarding the growth and settlement of the Territory to the great injury of the actual settler." On February 24, 1853, in supporting the Homestead Bill, Senator Dodge delivered what must be regarded as one of the most truthful, prophetic, and powerful speeches that found its way into the record. That speech is now almost forgotten, but before its centennial can be observed, not only scholars but men of affairs and all progressive citizens will be familiar with the fundamental truths it contains. We can recall but few instances in American history where our statesmen and writers have as thoroughly appreciated so great an evil, so succinctly described it, and so accurately perceived its remedy as Senator Dodge did in this exposition of the land question.[8]

[8] The following extract has been selected from that speech: "The soil of a country is the gift of the Creator to His creatures, and, in a government of the people, that gift should not become the object of speculation and monopoly. Springing from the earth and destined to return to it, every man desires to possess some of it, wants a spot he can call his own. It is a deep and absorbing feeling which no people have manifested more strongly than the Americans. If you desire to render this Republic indestructible, to extinguish every germ of agrarianism, and secure for ages the quiet enjoyment of vested rights, you should give an interest in the soil to every man who asks it. If every quarter section of the public land was the *bona fide* property of an actual settler, it would do more to perpetuate our liberties than all the constitutions, State or National, which have ever been devised. Incorporate every man with the soil, throw around him the blessed endearments of home, and you bind him in an allegiance stronger than a thousand oaths." When we recall that these words were spoken not by a rabid demagogue or a pauper social disturber, but by an old man in his seventy-first year, who was a United States Senator, who held large landed interests, and who based his statements

Interesting as is the life of Henry Dodge, we do not regard it more fascinating than was the checkered career of General Duff Green. In several respects Duff Green was one of the most remarkable of these men who framed Missouri's first constitution. He was beyond dispute the most versatile man in the convention; and became its greatest politician. In this latter capacity he attained a national reputation. Later he achieved honor as a diplomat, and finally in his old age received posterity's blessing by constructing a railroad and founding a city.

A native of Kentucky, Duff Green was related to some of the best and oldest families in Virginia. At an early age he taught school, studied law and was admitted to the bar, and sold goods as a country merchant. Having immigrated to Missouri Territory about 1817 he engaged in politics, mail contracts, speculation, and also had a large law practice. He established the first mail stage line west of the Mississippi River; and founded the town of Chariton, being its first postmaster. After the framing of Missouri's first constitution, Duff Green was elected a representative from Howard county in 1820 to the State legislature and in 1822 was elected a state senator. In 1821 he was chosen brigadier-general of the first brigade of the first division of the Missouri militia, and owing to his holding this office together with his services in Kentucky in the War of 1812, he was always known as General Duff Green. In 1823 Green became owner and editor of Benton's organ, the *St. Louis Enquirer*, and two years later purchased and edited the *United States Telegraph* at Washington. From that time to his death in 1875, he was always more or less before the public. As editor of the *Telegraph* he became one of the most powerful factors in

on a personal experience in public life that had covered nearly half a century, then the weight of their truth is increased.

If it were not too much of a digression we would be glad to enter even briefly into the private life of this celebrated "Captain of Aggressive Civilization," to describe his views on such questions as religion and slavery, to eulogize his remarkable mother, Nancy Ann Hunter, who alone in the annals of this nation gave birth to two United States Senators, Henry Dodge and Lewis F. Linn, and to expand upon this, the only example in our history, of a father and son—Henry Dodge and Augustus Caesar Dodge—sitting together first in the lower house of our national legislature and finally in the Senate chamber.

national politics, and is credited with having been one of the chief instruments in the election of Jackson in 1828. His paper was then given the government patronage, and this placed Green in good financial circumstances. His subsequent break with Jackson in 1830, his support of Clay in 1832 and of Calhoun in 1836, did not ruin him, as it did many other politicians. His paper continued to wield the greatest influence, and was known for its aggressiveness and independence, and for its large and philosophical views on national finance.

General Green visited Europe frequently on important public missions, conferring with leading statesmen and crowned heads. In 1843 he was sent to Mexico to aid in conducting negotiations for the acquisition of Texas; and under President Taylor's administration was again dispatched there on public business.

In later life he took the contract for constructing the great Tennessee Railroad from Dalton, Georgia, to Knoxville, Tennessee, and was one of the founders of the former city. In the lives of few men are there crowded so many different and dramatic events as are revealed in Green's career. In many ways it is an epitome of the biography of the entire convention of 1820.

The public life, both civil and military, of these forty-one men is quite sufficient to justify our stating that seldom in the history of any commonwealth established after 1789, has there been a more notable gathering of state constitution framers than was this one. It included the first United States Cabinet official appointed from west of the Mississippi river, three men who later represented Missouri and Wisconsin in the United States Senate, and, as far as influence on Missouri's constitution is concerned, a fourth United States Senator might be mentioned.[9] Of those who had or

[9] Edward Bates, appointed Secretary of War by President Fillmore, 1850, and resigned, later appointed Attorney-General by President Lincoln, 1861-1864; David Barton, first United States Senator from Missouri, 1820-1830; Henry Dodge, first United States Senator from Wisconsin, 1848-1857. Thomas H. Benton, the colleague of Barton, was United States Senator from Missouri 1820-1850.

were to enter the lower house of Congress there numbered four;[10] and two delegates later sat in the gubernatorial chair of Wisconsin and of Missouri.[11] One delegate was to hold the office of lieutenant-governor; two that of attorney general; two that of secretary of state; and two that of state auditor.[12] Two of the leading members of this convention became judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri, two were later circuit judges in this State, and one had presided over the first circuit court held west of the Mississippi River.[13]

The membership of the convention is also noteworthy in the remarkably large number of state legislators who composed it. The laws of five American commonwealths today bear the influence of twenty-three of the framers of Missouri's first constitution. Including its secretary, the convention commanded the ability of sixteen state senators, and sixteen state representatives—there being eight members who later sat in both houses.[14] In fact to each of the first ten general

[10] Edward Bates, Missouri's second representative, 1826; Henry Dodge, first delegate from Wisconsin Territory, 1841-1845; Samuel S. Hammond, representative from Georgia, 1803; John Scott, Missouri's third Territorial delegate, 1816 (17)-1820, and Missouri's first representative, 1820-1826.

[11] Henry Dodge, first territorial governor of Wisconsin Territory, 1836-1841, and again, 1845-1848; Alexander McNair, first state governor of Missouri, 1820-1824.

[12] Benjamin H. Reeves, Missouri's second lieutenant-governor, 1824; Edward Bates, Missouri's first attorney general, 1820, and John Rice Jones, former attorney general of Indiana Territory, 1805; Samuel S. Hammond, later secretary of state of South Carolina, about 1830, and William G. Pettus (secretary of the convention), Missouri's second secretary of state, 1821-24; Benjamin H. Reeves, Missouri's second state auditor, 1821-23, and Hiram H. Baber, Missouri's sixth state auditor, 1837-45.

[13] John D. Cook and John Rice Jones, two of the first three judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri, 1820; David Barton, judge of Northern Circuit of Missouri Territory, 1815-18, held first Circuit Court west of the Mississippi River; James Evans and Richard S. Thomas, Circuit Court judges of Missouri, 1837 and 1822.

[14] The five states are Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. The following delegates had been or become state senators in Missouri: Barton, 1834; Bates, 1830; Bettis, 1828; Brown, 1826; Burckhartt, 1824, 1830; Buckner, 1822; Chouteau, 1820; Dawson, 1824, 1834; Emmons, 1820; Green, 1822; Perry, 1820; Pratte, 1820; Reeves, 1820, 1832; Talbott, 1820; Thomas, 1826; (Pettus, 1832). Of these the eight who were also representatives were: Bates, 1822, 1834; Bettis, 1822, 1824, 1826; Burckhartt, 1822,1826; Buckner, 1830; Dawson, 1832; Emmons, 1836, 1838; Green, 1820; Reeves, Kentucky Legislature. Besides these were eight who held seats in the lower house of Missouri, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. Nathaniel Cook (Missouri), 1822; Hammond (Georgia and South

assemblies of the State of Missouri there were elected from one to eleven men who had sat in this convention, and two became the president *pro tempore* of the Senate.[15] Nor was their direct influence on Missouri's legislature limited to the commonwealth period. During the previous eight years of the existence of Missouri Territory there appear on the general assembly rolls the names of eight men as members of her legislative council and eight as representatives who in 1820 sat as delegates in the convention.[16] In each of the four general assemblies of Missouri Territory there were from four to eight members who were elected delegates in 1820. Thus for a period of thirty-eight years the laws of Missouri were more or less moulded by those who framed her first constitution, and for eleven years her only representatives in Congress were those who were delegates in 1820. What is still more remarkable is that Missouri's first constitution was directly influenced by her first three United States Senators, one of whom, Benton—although not a delegate—continued in the upper national chamber for thirty years. But, excepting Edward Bates, Duff Green, Henry Dodge, and Hiram H. Baber, not a single member of this convention held an important civil position in public life twenty years after the framing of Missouri's first constitution. A new generation of political leaders had risen, and in the place of Barton, Burckhartt, Buckner, the two Cooks, Dawson, McNair, Scott, Emmons, Evans, Hammond, Jones, Reeves, and other popular and influential members of the convention of 1820, the pilots of the ship of state were such noted men as Atchison, Campbell, Rollins, Price, Doniphan, Phelps,

Carolina); Heath (Missouri), 1820; Henry (South Carolina); Lillard (Missouri), 1820, and also in Tennessee Legislature; McFerron (Missouri), 1820; Ramsay (Kentucky), and also in Missouri Legislature, 1822; Ray (Missouri), 1820.

[15] Emmons, 1822; Burckhartt, 1830.

[16] The eight delegates who had been in the legislative council were Emmons, Hammond, Scott, Jones, Perry, Riddick, J. Cook, Dawson; in the house of representatives, Thomas, Byrd, Heath, Dawson, N. Cook, Talbott, Barton, Sullivan. Hammond was president of the first legislative council in 1813, and Emmons in the last in 1818. Barton was speaker of the house in 1818.

Woodson, Boggs, Jackson, Gardenhire, Switzler, Bay, Broadhead and others.

In addition to holding many minor public offices as those of county clerk, recorder, sheriff and treasurer, and justice of the peace, some of the delegates were to be or had been appointed to important civil positions under the National Government, besides those already mentioned. Among these were the offices of marshal, deputy marshal, attorney general, deputy attorney general, district attorney, lieutenant-governor or commandant of upper Louisiana, surveyor general and deputy surveyor general of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, register and clerk of various land offices, judge of the St. Louis Land Court, receiver of Public Money at St. Louis, and diplomat.[17]

The war record of the convention delegates and its secretary is also sufficiently noteworthy to warrant attention. Extending at least from 1775, if not prior to that year, to 1850 this record embraced the first three great national wars of the United States besides including the famous Black Hawk War and many Indian engagements. Twenty-one men of this convention, or exactly one-half its membership including the secretary, had seen or were to see military service. Of these, three had served as colonels in the Revolutionary War;[18] eighteen had been in the War of 1812, ranging in rank from volunteer to brigadier-general;[19] four

[17] Baber, United States deputy marshal (1820, 1830), and United States marshal, Missouri, (1852); Barton, deputy attorney general, Missouri Territory, (1813); Bates, judge St. Louis Land Court, (1858); J. Cook, United States district attorney, Missouri; Dodge, United States marshal, Missouri Territory and State, (1813-1822); Findlay, register United States Land Office, Lexington, Missouri, (1823); Green, United States diplomat; Hammond, first lieutenant-governor or commandant of upper Louisiana, (1804); Jones, attorney general, Indiana Territory, (1801-05); McNair, register St. Louis Land Office, (1818); Pratte, receiver Public Money at St. Louis; Rector, United States surveyor general of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas; Riddick, secretary Board of Land Commissioners at St. Louis (1808); Sullivan, United States deputy surveyor general of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas; Pettus, clerk Land Office at St. Louis (1818).

[18] Hammond, Henry, and Lillard.

[19] Barton, Bates, Boone, Byrd, Cleaver, N. Cook, Dawson, Dodge, Emmons, Green, Jones, Lillard, McNair, Pratte, Ramsay, Rector, Riddick, and Pettus. Dodge was brigadier-general of the Missouri militia; Ramsay held the same rank in the Kentucky militia.

later served in the Black Hawk War;[20] and one in the Mexican War.[21] Boone and Dodge gained the greatest distinction in the field of war. One attained the higher rank; the other, the greater popularity. Boone held the longer record and after twenty-one years of continuous service in the United States army was finally commissioned lieutenant-colonel at the age of seventy-one.[22] Prior to his connection with the regular army, he had fought in the War of 1812 and had seen service in various Indian campaigns. Dodge made an enviable record in his campaign against Black Hawk, and, after the overthrow of that celebrated Indian chief, won fame as colonel of the first regiment of dragoons in the army history of the United States. Prior to his connection with the regular army, Dodge had continuously held some rank in either the Missouri or Wisconsin militias from 1806. The war record of Dodge covers a period of nearly twenty-nine years; that of Boone over thirty-one years.

While the military and the civil public careers of western pioneers are both interesting and significant, we are inclined to regard with some favor those bits of biographical information which are frequently found in the back of bibles, or in the columns of the press, or which can be obtained only from descendants and friends of those long departed. We cannot here examine all the wealth of detail extant relating to the delegates and will generalize on such points as occupation, nativity, descent, education, economic position, and age. Under the best conditions it is almost impossible to verify every statement relating to this kind of information. We have, therefore, inclined towards sacrificing spectacular and striking generalizations for the sake of accuracy.

One of the most fascinating and profitable studies of any people is that relating to their occupation. To the historian the means employed by man to gain a livelihood takes rank in importance with his religion and race. To the pioneer

[20] Boone, Brown, Byrd, and Dodge. Dodge was called the hero of this war.

[21] Boone.

[22] 1853.

it was as important and pressing as it is today to the greatest specialist in the city. There is this difference to be noted, however: the pioneer was as a rule more versatile; the twentieth century man, better trained. The one successfully pursued from two to a half dozen different occupations; the latter is more frequently engaged in but one line of labor. Even in politics, where are found the followers of every occupation, and which is as cosmopolitan in professions and trade as New York in people, there had not appeared in 1820 that general devotion on the part of one class of citizens which later became so marked. Of course politics was not then so profitable, unless one wished to incur public disfavor by land speculation, and the spoils system had not yet become the Mecca of public life. But, waiving these two extraneous reasons, we still believe that politics, in common with most all other occupations, excepting the law, was not so specialized a means of livelihood in 1820 as it is today. Nor was politics so peculiarly the possession of the legal class as it is today, although practically all lawyers were also politicians. Of the forty-one delegates elected to the convention of 1820, thirty were more or less active in politics, of whom only nine were essentially lawyers.[23] Every lawyer in the convention was a politician, but not all the politicians in that body were lawyers.

Although the various occupations of each delegate are now fairly well known, it is still almost an impossibility to ascertain which was his principal vocation at that time. Duff Green was a lawyer with a large practice; he was also an astute politician, a successful business man, a large land owner and speculator, had formerly been a teacher, and later became an editor, publisher, railroad contractor, and diplomat. Similar examples of the difficulty of selecting a delegate's principal means of livelihood are found in the lives of a majority of these men. Was Dodge a lead mine operator or a farmer; was Jones one of these, or was he a lawyer and politician; was Nathanial Cook a politician, a farmer or a

[23] Heath practiced law but he was more essentially a business man.

surveyor; was Boone a farmer or a surveyor; was Bettis a merchant, a farmer, or a doctor; was McFerron a politician or a teacher? We are even driven to this: Every delegate except two engaged in two or more lines of work. In 1820 these forty-one men represented eight occupations under the very broad classifications of law, politics, business—including mercantile and mining pursuits, fur trading, salt manufacturing, and finance—, agriculture—including farming and land owning—, medicine, civil engineering—confined to surveying—, education—confined to teaching—, and journalism.

Politics absorbed the partial attention of thirty delegates but it was the sole occupation of only one or two of these. Besides the nine lawyers in the convention politics included eight business men, nine enagaged in agriculture or land owning, two in medicine, two in engineering and two in education. This almost universal passion for politics and public life was characteristic of the west at this time. Every lawyer was seized with it. Every man who had attained any degree of popularity wanted to hold office. As a rule it included the best and most able men in a community. Politics was then an honorable profession to which all turned even at a sacrifice. It is academic whether these men regarded politics as a duty or as a pleasant recreation. At all events we are certain that very few looked upon it as a great prize except for the honor attached to it. No man was so busy, so engaged in accumulating wealth, so learned, or so able that he spurned public office. We believe several causes brought about this admirable state of mind. The widespread and long continued interest of the colonies in public affairs for nearly a quarter of a century; the internal crisis between 1783 and 1789; the relations with England and Spain in the nineties; the armed truce or masked war with England and France during the first decade of the new century; the Louisiana Purchase; the War of 1812; the numerous Indian wars; the great domestic questions which arose from 1783 to 1820; all trained the American people to a consideration of public questions. Intense interest in politics tends to create a desire to enter public life. This is more quickly acted upon

when there is an honor instead of a stigma attached to office holding; and when the greatest opposition to overcome is merely votes and not machines and vested interests. The conditions in these respects were ideal in 1820 for a citizen's participation in public life. Another favoring factor was the then more circumscribed fields of intellectual activity. This gave an impetus unknown today to the study of political science, which study was, however, no more intrinsically interesting and absorbing then as it has ever been. In addition, might be mentioned the greater relative power of the orator and conversationalist as compared with that of the editor. The latter was handicapped for his information and in his circulation by the poor mail facilities. Missouri with a white population of over 55,000 in 1820, had but five newspapers, and these were located in four towns. Only one newspaper to supply the news to the thousands of settlers west and north of St. Charles and St. Louis! Only one paper to inform the territory lying south and west of Jackson, Missouri! Today a town of 10,000 has from two to five papers, and its inhabitants take perhaps a dozen others printed within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles. Today no county is without its weekly edition of local news, and many villages of less than five hundred inhabitants have their own press. The newspaper of 1820 was as influential wherever it circulated as any paper is today among its subscribers, but natural and mechanical obstacles prescribed its limits then within narrow bounds. The personality of the politician—using this word in its original and better meaning—and his ability as a speaker, were therefore enhanced.

In no profession are these qualities when highly developed either so advantageously and widely displayed or so assiduously cultivated as in the practice of law. And, no profession, we believe, has so directly and so significantly influenced our government and laws as the legal class. It is, therefore, quite remarkable that only ten of the forty-one delegates were members of the Missouri territorial bar; and one of these was more accurately a business man than a lawyer. Today

over fifty per cent of the upper house members of our state legislatures are lawyers, and our state executives are as learned in law as our attorneys-general; in 1820 less than twenty-five per cent of the delegates who framed the first constitution of Missouri followed that profession, and this state's first governor had never been admitted to the bar, as far as could be lerned. The significance, if not the explanation, of this peculiar attitude on the part of the people of Missouri in 1820 can be appreciated only after a consideration of the history of the Missouri territorial bar.

During the Spanish regime in upper Louisiana there was no lawyer class. This was due primarily to the manner of law interpretation that prevailed. The American occupation in 1804 immediately attracted to this district members of the bars of many states and territories. Lawyers of ability and prominence immigrated here from every section of the nation. The north, central, and south Atlantic commonwealths sent representatives, as well as that country which lies between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Considering the small population of upper Louisiana, the amount of litigation was remarkable, and much of this was highly remunerative. The hundreds of suits over the valuable Spanish land grants proved an especially lucrative field for the legal profession. This kind of litigation frequently involved prizes that would have ransomed a prince, and the rewards to advocates were in proportion to the value of the case. Under such favorable circumstances it is not surprising that we find a very large bar in Missouri during the territorial period. Nor was this bar less noted for its ability than for its numbers. In fact the former characteristic is more prominent and significant than the latter. The nature of the cases, the mixed population, the previous domination and the then but slightly diminished power of the Spanish law, all required a broad and acute legal mind to win success in court. The result was a bar which in pure, legal ability undoubtedly stood high.[24]

[24] *Cf.* also Bay, *Bench and Bar of Missouri*, pp. VI.ff; Houck, *op. cit.*, III. 12.

Other states have produced greater lawyers; many have had a larger bar; but few states in proportion to their population have had so many lawyers of such remarkable ability as Missouri did from 1804 to 1820. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that owing to the conditions named, together with the compactness of the settlements in Missouri Territory, and the peculiar organization of the courts, a lawyer of little ability could not make a living by his profession in this district. Only lawyers learned in the law or skilled in pleading and cross-examination could survive. Therefore we find such men as these constituting the legal class at that time: Ezra Hunt, Henry S. Geyer, Silas Bent, John F. Ryland, Hamilton R. Gamble, William C. Carr, Abiel Leonard, David Todd, Mathias McGirk, Robt. W. Wells, Geo. Tomkins, Thomas H. Benton, Rufus Easton, Rufus Hemstead, Johnson Ranney, John B. C. Lucas, Alexander Gray, Rufus Pettibone, Luke E. Lawless, Peyton R. Hayden, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, Joshua Barton, Frederick Bates, David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander Buckner, John D. Cook, James Evans, Duff Green, John Rice Jones, John Scott, and R. S. Thomas. It is a remarkable fact that of these noteworthy men only the last nine were elected delegates. Perhaps a few like Lucas had been defeated on account of being slavery restrictionists, but, we are certain, these formed a very small percentage of their class.[25] This together with other evidence would indicate that the people of Missouri in 1820 preferred to have their constitution framed by other classes of men. They did not realize that the legal class by virtue of its ability alone wields an influence in the field of legislation out of all proportion to its numbers, and that in the convention or forum it has always enjoyed a preeminent position. This influence and position of lawyers in law-making bodies have in this country been strengthened by their ability to cooperate with other classes. And in this respect the lawyer's most natural ally has been and still is the business man.

[25] Easton had died at this time; and Hunt and Gamble had not then achieved distinction.

An eminent authority has said that at least nine-tenths of all legislation owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the associated influence of the merchant, trader, and banker on the one hand, and the lawyer on the other.[26] We are not prepared to examine the correctness of this statement, but, we believe, it is well substantiated in the framing of Missouri's first constitution. Although only eleven business men[27] and nine lawyers were elected delegates to the convention, their influence in that body was without a serious check. In the committees of the convention they were practically supreme. The president of the convention was a lawyer; the legislative committee was composed of a lawyer, a business man, and a politician; the executive committee was composed of a lawyer, a surveyor, and a farmer—the latter being the brother of a lawyer; the judiciary committee was composed of three lawyers; the select committee, which reported on the work of the three named committees, was composed of three lawyers, and a farmer; the committee on a bill of rights, etc., was composed of a farmer, a business man, and a lawyer; the committee on the schedule and banking was composed of a lawyer, a business man, and a teacher; the revision committee, or committee on style, and the enrollment committee were each composed of two lawyers, and a teacher. In seven of these eight committees the business men and the lawyers constituted a majority of the membership, and in the eighth these two classes had the cooperation of a surveyor whose interests were identical with theirs.[28] Of the twenty-five committee places on these eight committees, one was held by a surveyor; three, by teachers; three, by landed men; one, by a politician; three, by business men; and fourteen, by lawyers.

[26] Foote, *Bench and Bar of the Southwest*, p. 3.

[27] The following delegates were engaged principally in business, ranging from a tavern keeper and storekeeper to a banker and fur merchant: Baber, Burckhartt, Chouteau, Dodge (mine operator), Emmons, Hammond (speculator, more allied to the business than to the agricultural class), Heath, Houts, McNair, Pratte, Riddick.

[28] The members of the executive committee were Rector, a surveyor; N. Cook, a land holder and a brother of J. Cook, the lawyer; and Evans, a lawyer.

This remarkable strength of the lawyers is the more significant when we realize that there were thirteen delegates in the convention who were mainly interested in agriculture and landholding[29] We would not be understood as stating that on all questions that arose there was a line of division in the convention between the lawyers and business men on the one hand, and the agriculturalists on the other. Such is not true; but it is correct to say that the influence of the former was much greater than that of the latter, and, further, that Missouri's first constitution was largely the work of the former, even though the lawyers and business men did not comprise a majority of the delegates.

Besides the occupations named that were represented in the convention, there were three others which were each followed by two delegates. The medical profession was followed by Dawson and Talbott; the civil engineering, by Rector and Sullivan; and the teaching, by Findlay and McFerron. Of these six men McFerron and Findlay were the most active in the convention, and achieved the least financial success in life.

Another feature of this body that attracts attention is its cosmopolitan appearance. There were represented in the convention seven lines of descent. The English race claimed a majority of the delegates; the Welsh, two; the Scotch, at least two; the Irish, at least four; the Scotch-Irish, which, we understand, is generally distinguished by genealogists from the Scotch, at least four; the French, two; and the German, one.[30] Even more diversified was the nativity of the members of the convention. The slave-holding commonwealths, as one would expect, were the birthplaces of a majority of the delegates. Contrary to popular opinion, Kentucky did not lead in this respect; to

[29] The following delegates belonged to this class: Bettis, Boone—a surveyor, but, we believe, more interested in land at this time—, Brown, Byrd, Cleaver, N. Cook, Henry, Hutchings, Lillard, Perry, Ramsay, Ray, Wallace.

[30] Green and Jones, Welsh; Barton and Henry, Scotch; Hutchings, McFerron, Ramsay, and Thomas, Irish; Cleaver, Findlay, McNair, and Talbott, Scotch-Irish; Chouteau and Pratte, French; Burckhartt, German; and the other delegates, excepting several that we were unable to trace, English.

Virginia was this honor given. The former furnished eight of Missouri's State Founders; the latter, thirteen. Standing next to Virginia and Kentucky was Maryland with four delegates, and, what is equally at variance with accepted notions on this point, Pennsylvania followed with three delegates. The place of birth of the remaining members of the convention was as follows: Tennessee, then part of North Carolina, two; upper Louisiana, while under Spanish rule, two; Indiana Territory, before the organization of the old Northwest Territory, one; New York, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Wales, and Ireland, each one.[31] It is quite a commentary on the wane of the French influence that only two delegates were of French blood. Less than sixteen years before when the first convention was held in upper Louisiana, protesting against the act of Congress of 1804, the French representatives were in the majority; and, if we look back four years further to the close of the eighteenth century, we see that race the most influential west of the Mississippi River. We recall few instances in history where an enlightened, peaceful, and fairly prosperous race has ever been so ignored in governmental affairs in such a short time by any other means than by force.

Closely related to nativity is the place of one's rearing. If in considering the latter we include the places of residence in which the delegates had lived before coming to what is now Missouri, there is no state that holds as prominent a position in this respect as was met with under our discussion

[31] Those born in Virginia were Baber, Bates, Clark, J. Cook, N. Cook, Evans, Hammond, Hutchings, Lillard, Ramsay, Rector, Riddick, and Scott; in Kentucky, Boone, Buckner, Cleaver, Green, Ray, Reeves, Sullivan, and Wallace; in Maryland, Burckhartt, Dawson, Talbott, Thomas; in Pennsylvania, Findlay, McNair, and Perry; in Tennessee, Barton and Byrd; in North Carolina, Bettis and Brown; in upper Louisiana, Chouteau and Pratte; in Indiana Territory, Dodge; in New York, Heath; in New Hampshire, Emmons; in South Carolina, Henry; in Ireland, McFerron; and in Wales, Jones. The birthplace of Houts is not known. The *Jackson Herald*, June 24, 1820, gives the birthplaces of the delegates as follows: Virginia, 16; Kentucky, 8; Pennsylvania, 4; Maryland 4; North Carolina, 3; Missouri 2; Vermont, 1; Delaware, 1; Tennessee, 1; Ireland, 1; and Wales, 1. The total number of delegates according to that paper was forty-two, which is not accurate. It possibly included the secretary of the convention, but this would not correct its figures on this point.

of places of birth. While Virginia was the mother of thirteen delegates, she had the exclusive control of but three of these before their settlement in Missouri. Kentucky was the single home and residence of only six delegates. Five members of the convention had been reared and had lived in Virginia and Kentucky; two in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee; one in Virginia and Georgia; one in Virginia and Tennessee; one in Virginia and Illinois Territory; one in Virginia and Indiana Territory; one in Kentucky and Indiana Territory; one in Kentucky and Maryland; one in Kentucky, Maryland and Ohio; one in Kentucky and upper Louisiana; three in Tennessee; two in Maryland; one in North Carolina; one in North Carolina and South Carolina; three in Pennsylvania; one in New Hampshire; one in New York; one in Ireland; one in Wales, England, Indiana and Illinois Territories; one in upper Louisiana; and one in upper Louisiana and Canada.[32] On the basis of former residence and former friendships thirty-six of the delegates naturally fall into five groups. The largest number came from Maryland, Vir-

[32] The three delegates from Virginia and the year of their immigration to Missouri were Bates (1814), Evans (1807), Riddick (1803); from Virginia and Kentucky, Boone (1800), Clark (1817), J. Cook (1815), N. Cook (1799), Hutchings (1800); from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, Baber (1815), Ramsay (1817); from Virginia and Georgia, Hammond (1804); from Virginia and Tennessee, Lillard (1817); from Virginia and Illinois Territory, Rector (1810); from Virginia and Indiana Territory, Scott (1804); from Kentucky, Cleaver (1816), Green (1817), Ray (1818), Reeves (1819), Sullivan (at least as early as 1815), Wallace (at least as early as 1818); from Kentucky and Indiana Territory, Buckner (1818); from Kentucky and Maryland, Burckhartt (about 1815 or before); from Kentucky, Maryland, and Ohio, Thomas (1810); from Kentucky and upper Louisiana, Dodge (1796); from Tennessee, Barton (1809), Brown (1804), Byrd (1799); from Maryland, Dawson (1800), Talbott (at least by 1815); from North Carolina, Bettis (1806); from North Carolina and South Carolina, Henry (1817); from Pennsylvania, Findlay (1818), McNair (1804), Perry (1806); from New Hampshire, Emmons (1807); from New York, Heath (1808); from Ireland, McFerron (1802); from Wales, England, Indiana Territory and Illinois Territory, Jones (1810); from upper Louisiana and Canada, Pratte (born in Ste. Genevieve). Chouteau was born in St. Louis. The birthplace and former residence of Houts are unknown, also the date of his arrival in Missouri. The dates given as the years of the arrivals in upper Louisiana of the delegates are in some cases our approximations of the exact time. We were in several instances unable to obtain exact information. Each date, we believe, is, however, accurate in stating the year in which a delegate was living in upper Louisiana or Missouri Territory. The error, if any, is in the direction of an understatement rather than an overstatement of the length of time a delegate had been an inhabitant of this Territory.

ginia and Kentucky. These three states, closely related in history by the ties of blood, interest, and position, had been the birthplace and home of seventeen delegates. The next group in the order of importance was that from Tennessee and the Carolinas. Its membership included eight delegates, most of whom came from eastern Tennessee. The old Northwest Territory group was composed of five delegates, who came from Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Illinois Territory. The Pennsylvania group and the upper Louisiana group were each composed of three delegates. Thus, instead of there having been a large number of sources of the delegates, we find that all the members of the convention except six can be traced to five common sources. We think this is important in an understanding of the personnel of the convention. The delegates were isolated from each other neither before nor after their immigration west of the Mississippi River. Nor were they strangers to each other at either time. They had met in the market, had been companions in the skirmish, had sat aside by side in legislative bodies, had known each other as friends or as foes before the bar. Some were related by the bonds of marriage and friendship, others by the ties of business and policy. Although their average residence in upper Louisiana was but ten years, excluding Chouteau and Pratte, who were born in that district, and Houts of whom we could learn very little, their acquaintanceships stretch back into the eighteenth century; and when they met to frame Missouri's first constitution each knew the character as well as the reputation of many of his colleagues.

Some of the delegates were members of the same religious denomination, but our information is too incomplete in this respect to insure accurate generalizations. We do know, however, that the following sects and religions had followers in the convention: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic. Formal religion did not play as important a part in the lives of the men and women of that day as it did later. We do not believe that even half of the delegates were members of any church at this

time. This was partly due, in the case of some of the delegates, to a lack of interest in this subject, but was more probably the result of the few, scattered churches and ministers in Missouri Territory. In many cases we are told the religion that was professed by a delegate's parents, who had lived in the settled states east of the Mississippi River, but nothing in regard to the religion of the delegate himself. In other instances we have record of the delegate joining some religious denomination years after Missouri had entered the Union. There was also a number of delegates who were Masons. Alexander Buckner had been the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Indiana Territory, and had organized the first Masonic Lodge in Missouri Territory, "Unity Lodge" at Jackson; Benjamin L. Emmons had brought the first charter for the Masonic Lodge at St. Charles; and Thomas F. Riddick, who together with Alexander McNair, Thomas H. Benton, Edward and Frederick Bates, William G. Pettus and others established the first two Masonic Lodges in St. Louis, was the first Grand Master of Missouri.

Before closing our treatment of the private lives of the delegates we will make a few statements on what is usually regarded as two of the most important subjects in the study of biography—education and economic position. The educational equipment of the members of the first constitutional convention of Missouri was an honor and an asset to that body. Some of the delegates had received little schooling but most of these had corrected this by a close application to books. Only seven delegates, however, were in this class of self-educated men. Information along this line in the case of seven other delegates has not been brought to light. All the remaining twenty-six delegates had received good educations and many of these, *e. g.*, Jones, Scott, McNair, Pratte, McFerron, Barton, Bates, Buckner and others, had received exceptionally fine advantages either in college or under remarkably eminent men.[33] The most highly educated

[33] Baber, Chouteau, Clark, Dodge, Hutchings, Ramsay, and Wallace had received little schooling or were self-educated. We could not obtain information in this line relating to Brown, Burckhartt, Byrd, Cleaver, N. Cook, Lillard, Sullivan, and Perry.

man in the convention, one whom we can correctly style learned, was John Rice Jones. This high educational standard of the convention was naturally reflected in the work of that body. The constitution that it framed has throughout not only a clear, correct style, but also, which is more important, it reveals itself as the work of men who were liberal enough to compromise. A constitution of this character is usually insured a longer life than one framed by a body of illiberal even though powerful men.

Another element of strength in the convention was the economic stability of most of its members. All except four of the delegates either enjoyed large incomes from their profession and business, or were possessed of considerable property, principally in land. Even these four, whom we have excepted, were not penniless, but were in only fair circumstances compared to the other delegates. It is interesting to note that two of these four delegates were the only school teachers in the convention, which perhaps explains their economic situation; one was a politician, an even less lucrative office then than now; and one was a small business man who soon developed into a politician and found more wealth in holding public office than in selling groceries.[34] Fourteen of the delegates were among the wealthiest men in the territory, and two of these, Jones and Pratte, probably had few if any equals in this respect.[35] The lawyers and surveyors in the convention had large incomes as their services were of a high grade and were well remunerated. The business class in the convention was also fortunate in this respect, which was due to the large profits that the successful trader and merchant made on his furs and wares, and to the immense gains that accrued to a progressive mine operator.

[34] McFerron and Findlay were teachers; Clark, a politician; and Baber a country merchant. Baber later held several public offices and for nearly thirty years was connected with the State Auditor's department. He became wealthy; and the story is told that at times he would light his cigar with paper currency to show in what slight regard he held money.

[35] The fourteen delegates who were wealthy were Boone, Brown, Byrd, Chouteau, N. Cook, Dodge, Hammond, Henry, Lillard, Perry, Ramsay, and Riddick. Dodge had, however, lost much of his wealth, but later recovered it in Wisconsin Territory.

The agricultural class did not, perhaps, enjoy so large a net income as either of the three classes named, but in property it usually surpassed them. Considering the low average age of the delegates, it is surprising that so many were men of means, and most of them were also self-made men. The average age of these delegates was forty-one years. Only four were sixty years old or over—Hammond, who was sixty-three years; Henry, eighty-four years; Jones, sixty-one years; and Lillard, sixty years. The remaining thirty-seven delegates ranged in age between thirty-one and fifty-nine years except five or six who were thirty years or younger—Baber, Bates, Clark, J. Cook, Houts (?), and Green. Today it would be almost impossible to elect in any state forty-one of the leading men of that commonwealth whose average age would be as low and whose economic position as high as were the men who framed Missouri's first constitution. The reason for such a difference existing, is not slow in presenting itself. In the first place, never in the history of this nation, not even excepting the case of California, has such a wealth of natural resources and fertile soil been thrown open to settlement and exploitation as upper Louisiana offered the American settler from 1790 to 1820. Therefore the fearless, shrewd, and energetic young men amassed fortunes in a decade or two. In the second place, the absence of specialization permitted men to enter active life earlier. And even where special training and study were required as in the case of law and engineering, a year or two of application was sufficient to enable one to be admitted to active work at the bar or in the field. The unlimited opportunities that this rich territory offered and the comparative absence of the specialist were, we believe, the main reasons for the delegates averaging low in age and high in wealth. We would not be understood as stating that a wealthy class framed Missouri's first constitution, for this is not true. The delegates were all men of more or less property and some were very wealthy, but they were essentially representatives of the people both by virtue of election and even more truly by reason of birth, upbringing and industry.

ORIGIN OF MISSOURI DAY.

Anna Brosius Korn.

Have you ever lived beyond the confines of Missouri's boundaries? If not, you perhaps know little of the kindred spirit that binds Missourians together elsewhere. Their interests and sympathies from birthright are one, and these tend to link Missourians into one great family by the bonds of brotherhood and by the great law of mutual helpfulness. The desire for kindred association and co-operation has led to the formation of Missouri Societies in a number of the states of the Union and at Washington, D. C. These societies are composed of many men and women who have made history in their adopted homes.

I had the pleasure of being a charter member of the Missouri Society of Oklahoma, organized by Levi M. Spivey, an editor at Anadarko, on April 22, 1909, and had the distinction of being the only woman elected to office. Among the one hundred Missourians of that Society distinguished in the affairs of Oklahoma were: Hon. Bushrod M. Dilley, lawyer, Receiver in the Land Office at Guthrie, and Representative in the Thirtieth and Senator in the Thirty-second General Assemblies of Missouri; Jas. A. Menefee, State Treasurer; Homer Low, attorney for the Rock Island lines; Dr. Messenbaugh, and others.

The Society offered delightful and improving enjoyments, helpful in opportunities to cultivate the mind, taste and heart, and to quicken noble aspirations toward better citizenship in our adopted state. The varied talents of the members constituted a society to which I was proud to belong.

It was while officially connected with this society that I recounted the numerous federated organizations of Missouri which made up the educational, religious, fraternal, commercial, patriotic and social life of the people—each having for its aim the betterment of humanity along all lines of activity

and the development of the State—yet lacking one essential link to bind them in entirety. I became convinced that a Missouri Day on the calendar was necessary to accomplish the purpose of uniting the organizations—a day when Missourians at home and abroad could meet and observe universally. A change of residence from El Reno, Okla., to Trenton, Mo., opened an avenue for the pursuance of my plans.

On February 11, 1913, I paid my first visit to Jefferson City and as I stood upon the ruins of the historic site of the old state capitol, meditating upon the famous events that characterized its existence and reflecting upon the achievements of the sons and daughters of Missouri who have given their lives and talents in her varied activities, the desire to translate my idea into action became a fact of experience. Upon my return home, I drafted resolutions for the inauguration of a Missouri Day in state life, selecting the fall of the year as the most desirable season and October the best month, because as Mark Twain expressed it: "Missouri is at her best in October." The weather conditions at that time are most conducive to study and enjoyment after a period of mental rest. The end of the harvest at that time bespeaks the glory of Missouri's resources and lend material aid in demonstrating her greatness, wealth and power. At that time the state flower, the "Golden Rod," is blooming resplendent on hillside through vale and glen, and would be a conspicuous force useful and decorative for the State's celebration of "Missouri Day."

Having to select a day to be embodied in the resolutions, I chose October 1st, as it commemorates the establishment of the seat of government at Jefferson City, which was October 1, 1826. The resolutions were first introduced by me in the Shakesperian Circle of which I was president, and in other organizations of Trenton—all of which adopted them. In August, 1913, I introduced the resolutions in the Grundy County Teachers' Association and they were unanimously adopted. Miss Elizabeth Brainerd was delegated to introduce them in the State Teacher's Association where they

were unanimously adopted on November 12th. Other societies to follow in quick succession in the adoption of the resolutions were: Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution; Women's Federated Clubs of Missouri; Group 2, Missouri Banker's Association; Missouri Division United Daughters of the Confederacy; Missouri Society, U. S. Daughters of 1812; Missouri Federated Commercial Clubs; Missouri Society of Colorado; and the Missouri Society of Washington, D. C.

Having successfully waged the campaign in some of the largest and strongest organizations of the State, I felt fortified to go with my ambitions to the legislature. Consequently, I drafted a bill, which I gave to Dr. J. A. Waterman, Representative from my native county, Caldwell, to introduce for me in the House of Representatives. This bill provided that the first day of October of each and every year be known and designated, "Missouri Day," and I empowered Dr. Waterman to act for me in any way deemed advisable to get the passage of the bill. It was read the first time January 11th and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

Fearing that a set day of the month commemorating a state anniversary might involve discussion in the legislature that would defeat the main object in view, and as October 1st comes two-sevenths of the time on Saturday and Sunday, and believing that a fixed day of the week for the scholastic observance of Missouri Day would meet with greater favor in the legislature, the bill was amended to read: "An act providing that the first Monday in October of each and every year shall be known and designated 'Missouri Day.'" Friends of the bill approved the change and it was reported from the Judiciary Committee January 15th, with recommendations that the bill pass. It was read third time January 26th, and passed the House unanimously. It passed the Senate unanimously March 19, 1915, while I was a guest in the Legislature, where I had gone in interest of the bill.

I left Jefferson City that evening and upon my return home wrote Governor Major asking him to please sign the bill, to which he replied:

Mrs. F. N. Korn, Trenton, Mo.:

My Dear Madam: Your letter of the 21st at hand and replying say, I have already signed the bill making the first Monday in October Missouri Day.

Sincerely,
E. W. MAJOR, Governor.

The bill was approved by Governor Major on March 23rd.

A copy of the bill with historical reference was put in a box and placed in the corner stone of the new State Capitol by Governor Major. A framed copy of the bill hangs in the Missouri Building at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and another copy is on file in the archives of The State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia.

The day was devised primarily to unite all organizations in bonds of fraternal feeling; to foster a love for our history; to teach the rising generations of boys and girls the glories of Missouri; to encourage patriotism and promote all lines of interest in our forward march of progress.

All praise to old Missouri,
To her people staunch and true;
To the flag that floats above her,
Of the red, white and blue.
And honor to our Country,
And our God whom we adore
Whose guidance we petition,
Henceforth forevermore.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

June-July-August, 1915.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*
July 2. Sketch of the life of Frank Ford, pioneer.

Atchison County. Rock Port, *Atchison County Journal*
July 1. Sketch of the life of Wm. McHolliway, Mo. pioneer.
———— ———— *Atchison County Mail*
June 25. Sketch of the life of Isaac Martin, Mo. pioneer, statesman, and Civil War veteran.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Missouri Message*
June 17. History of Laddonia Presbyterian Church, by H. B. Barks.
July 8. Fragments of Audrain County Early History. (By W. H. Beal.)

Barry County. Cassville, *Republican*
July 1. Sketch of the life of David Marshall, pioneer and Mo. Civil War veteran.

Bates County. Adrian, *Journal*
June 3. Sketches of rural inhabitants of Bates County. See prior and later issues.
———— Butler, *Bates County Record*
June 19. Sketch of the life of Jas. A. Robinson, Mo. pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*
June 4. Story of Amos Judy, a Civil War tragedy.
July 2. Days of Indian Killings—Early Boone Co. history.
July. 9. Sketch of the Battle of Centralia. See also July 16.
July 23. Some Incidents of the Civil War in Boone Co.
August 13. Reminiscences of Centralia, by Mrs. A. F. Sneed and Mrs. Kate Lofland. Also by others. See also later issues.
August 20. Some War Reminiscences by Hon. David Wallace and others.
———— Columbia, *Tribune*
June 11. When the University was used as a barracks for Union troops.
June 15. Recollections of War times related at Confederate reunion.
June 23. Historical Sketch of Exchange National Bank on its fiftieth anniversary.
July 17. Sketch of the life of St. Clair McKelway, editor of Brooklyn Eagle and former Columbia citizen.
Aug. 12. Historical sketch of Ashland church organized 1817.
———— ———— *University Missourian*
June 4. Historical sketch of old Jewell House, second brick structure in Missouri west of St. Charles.
June 7. Recollections of a Columbia confectioner in days following Civil War.
June 8. Historical sketch of University buildings.
June 13. Old time commencements at University of Missouri.

June 18. Sketch of the life of George B. Rollins, son of James S. Rollins, Father of the University.
Aug. 5. History and inscriptions in Columbia city cemetery.
Aug. 9. Historical sketch of the Woodson family in Missouri.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*
June 13. Sketch of the life of J. S. Cunningham, hero of Vicksburg.
Aug. 2. Historical sketch of First German M. E. Church with pictures of three early pastors.
———— ———— *News-Press*
June 7. Sketch of the life of Marion Srite, Buchanan Co. pioneer and early day freighter.
June 12. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. G. Hall. Civil War surgeon and pioneer St. Joseph physician.
July 13. History of old Fairleigh Mansion, St. Joseph landmark, built 1858.
Aug. 31. Sketch of the life of M. G. Moran, former state senator from Buchanan Co.

Caldwell County. Hamilton, *Farmer's Advocate*
June 10. List of dead soldiers buried in Hamilton cemeteries.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Missouri Telegraph*
June 18. Sketch of the life of Prof. B. T. Gilkey, teacher in Mo. School for Deaf for fifty-three years.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*
July 9. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. A. Hanna, pioneer preacher and Mo. Confederate veteran.
———— ———— *Republican-Record*
July 1. Sketch of the life of Bernard Hanavan, pioneer and Mo. Civil War veteran.
July 29. Sketch of the life of Frederick Senn, Mo. Civil War veteran.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*
July 1. History of the first two newspapers in Carter county by Jno. C. Brown.

Cedar County. El Dorado Springs, *News*
July 1. Copy of *The Vicksburg* (Miss.) *Daily Citizen*, July 2, 1863.
July 22. Sketch of the life of John B. Warren, pioneer.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
June 18. Account of the unveiling ceremonies of the General Sterling Price monument.
Sketch of the life of Gen. Sterling Price.
Aug. 13. Memories of the War, by Dr. H. P. Baker—Extracts from diary on General Price's Raid from Glasgow, Mo., to Shreveport, La. See also later issues. (A remarkable historical article.)

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Standard*
Aug. 12. Historical account of Old Claysville, by R. J. Clark.
———— Liberty, *Advance*
June 25. Sketch of the life of Rice Hugh Holtzclaw, first white child born in Liberty, Mo.
July 2. Sketch of the William Jewell College Alumni Association.
July 16. Reminiscences about the old town of Claysville. See also July 30.

——————— ——————— *Tribune*
July 2. The first child born in Clay county—Archibald Lincoln.
July 30. Sketch of the old town of Fredericksburg, Ray County, Mo. Reminiscences about old Claysville.

Cooper County, Boonville, *Advertiser* (weekly)
June 4. Sketch of the life of Julius Sombart, Cooper Co. pioneer and Mo. Civil War veteran.

——————— ——————— *Central Missouri Republican*
June 17. Sketch of the life of Ishan E. Alexander, Cooper Co. pioneer and veteran railroad contractor.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*
June 24. Sketch of the life of Rev. Wm. J. Garrett, pioneer minister.
July 1. A version of the term "I'm from Missouri."

——————— ——————— *Vedette*
July 1. Reminiscences about Jack Epperson, pioneer, plainsman and Indian fighter. See also later issues.
Aug. 5. Old Camp Grounds is Historic Spot, South Greenfield.

Gasconade County. Bland, *Courier*
June 11. Sketch of the early history of Gasconade County.

——————— Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*
June 16. Sketch of the life of Fritz Idel, Mo. pioneer and Civil War veteran.
July 14. Sketch of the life of Fritz Seba, Mo. Civil War veteran.

Gentry County. Albany, *Capital*
June 10. Sketch of the life of T. E. Burgess, Gentry County pioneer.

Greene County. Ash Grove, *Commonwealth*
June 24. Sketch of the life of Mary Boone Hosman, granddaughter of Daniel Boone, daughter of Col. Nathan Boone, and Greene Co. pioneer.

——————— Springfield, *Leader*
June 8. Recollections of early days in Dallas Co.
June 18. Map of Ozark trails in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Oklahoma.
June 13. Revival of St. Clair County bond case, the result of a railroad that never came.
June 14. How St. Clair Co. in 1876 evaded the taxes for a railroad which was never built.
June 17. First legal hanging in Greene County.
June 18. Sketch of the life of R. N. Snodgrass, pioneer and Klondike gold miner.
An incident of the battle of Wilson Creek, by A. M. Haswell.
June 24. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Elmira Wagoner of Taney Co., at 114 oldest woman in southwest.
June 27. Henry Williams, former Springfield man, who wrote famous war song, "Its a Long Way to Tipperary."
June 28. Sketch of the life of S. H. Caldwell, Webster Co. pioneer and founder of the once flourishing Henderson Academy.
July 11. Reminiscences, by Cole Younger.
July 14. Early Days in the Ozarks, "Slicker War," etc., by old citizens.

——————— ——————— *Republican*
June 4. Survey of social and industrial conditions in Greene county.
June 6. Mrs. Kate Kentling of Christian county, only woman survivor of Maxmilian expedition.

June 11. Sketch of the life of James N Hosey, representative from Greene Co. in Missouri legislature 1889.
June 27. Sketch of the life of David Marshall, Monett pioneer.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*
June 11. History of the first (?) Woman's Club in Missouri formed at Oregon.
July 16. Historical Sketch of Fortescue, the grain center of Holt County.
Aug. 6. Reminiscences of Holt county, by Will M. Maupin.
Aug. 13. A Pioneer Woman's Club in Mo., *ibid.*
Aug. 20. Early Days of Fortescue, by John H. Lynds.
Aug. 27. Ferrying Sixty Years Ago, account of the first steam ferry across the Mo. River at Iowa Point.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*
July 22. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. J. Sitton, pioneer and Mo. Confederate veteran.
Early History in the Ozarks, by R. G. Smith, pioneer and Mo. Civil War veteran.
———— ———— *Journal*
June 17. Sketch of the life of John A. Chapin, pioneer and county official.

Jackson County. Independence, *Jackson Examiner*
June 25. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. D. Maderia, Ohio and Mo. pioneer.
Aug. 6. Sketch of the life of Darius Gregg, Missouri pioneer and Confederate veteran.
———— Kansas City *Journal*
June 14. Sketch of the life of Warner Underwood Grider, last of Kentucky family that helped to develop Kansas City.
Sketch of the life of Major George G. Asbury, pioneer scout and plainsman.
June 21. Sketch of the life of William S. Cowherd, attorney and former congressman from Mo.
June 24. Historical sketch of Southwest National Bank of Commerce on occasion of 50th anniversary.
June 30. Sketch of the life of C. A. Tichenor, pioneer attorney.
July 18. Tributes to Col. Robert T. Van Horn, Kansas City pioneer, on ninety-first birthday, with recollections of pioneer days.
Aug. 24. Sketch of the life of Wm. F. Moore, Missouri pioneer stockman and Confederate veteran.
———— ———— *Post*
June 13. Howard H. Richardson, Mexican War veteran of Macon, recalls incidents of campaign with Price in 1846.
———— ———— ———— *Star*
June 13. Sketch of the life of Clay Crenshaw, a member of the famous Quantrell gang.
June 27. Col. Buford's Cannon. An account of the struggle to make Kansas a slave state.
Story of Jack Kaufman, a Kansas City boy who was a soldier of fortune in Mexico.
Through the Yankee lines. Story of War times in Arkansas and Missouri.
July 2. When the first Pony Express rider started from St. Joseph April 3, 1860.
July 4. The Passing of Old Central High School. Historical sketch of one of Kansas City's oldest schools.

July 9. Account of meeting of National Old Trails Road Association in Kansas City with map of cross-state highway.
July 10. Sketch of the life of Henry L. Waldo, Kansas City man who became general counsel for the Santa Fe railroad in New Mexico.
July 11. Drifting down White River.
July 21. Legends connected with the early history of Excelsior Springs.
July 25. A Civil War incident in the history of the old village of Fredericksburg in Ray county.

———— ———— *Times*

June 25. Missouri's eight capitol buildings.

Jasper County. Joplin, *News-Herald*

June 8. Sketch of the life of Judge Charles E. Elliott, pioneer, who helped lay out Joplin in 1871.
June 12. Account of meeting of Ozark Press Association in Joplin.
June 20. Pioneer days in Short Creek. A story of the lead belt of Missouri.

Jefferson County. DeSoto, *Jefferson County Republican*

July 8. Sketch of the life of Henry Moehlmann, Mo. Civil War veteran.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Rustic*

Aug. 26. Sketch of the life of Alfred Case, Mo. pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Lafayette County. Odessa, *Democrat*

July 16. Sketch of the life of Jabez Shotwell, pioneer.
Aug. 6. Sketch of the life of David C. Morrison, Mo. Confederate veteran.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*

June 5. In the Early Fifties—Pioneer Road Builders.
June 12. In the Early Fifties—The change from wood to coal fuel on Missouri railroads.
June 19. In the Early Fifties—Famous runs in pioneer railroading.
June 26. In the Early Fifties—When trainmen were soldiers.
July 3. In the Early Fifties—Account of the Hannibal & St. Joseph R. R. in war times.
July 15. In the Early Fifties—Brookfield, Mo., in war time.
July 24. In the Early Fifties—Linn county in war times.
July 31. In the Early Fifties—Early Brookfield history. See also later issues.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Constitution* (weekly)

June 10. Sketch of the Constitution, the second paper established in Livingston Co., and the oldest published there today.
July 1. Sketch of the life of E. M. Ware, Mo. pioneer and Confederate veteran.
Aug. 5. Sketch of the life of Geo. W. Crammer, Mo. pioneer.

Macon County. Macon, *Times-Democrat*

June 10. Historical sketch of the *Times-Democrat* in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary.
June 24. Sketch of the life of Col. R. T. Van Horn, founder of the *Kansas City Journal.*

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*

Aug. 5. Sketch of the life of R. M. Womack, Mo. pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*
June 16. Sketch of the life of George P. Cameron, pioneer who laid out the town of Cameron.
——— ——— *Journal*
June 27. Seventy-fifth anniversary edition—Historical sketches of Hannibal and Marion County.
——— Palmyra, *Spectator*
July 21. Missouri Civil War history, by Capt. J. W. Ayres.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*
June 23. Sketch of Isom Holmes, pioneer.
July 21. Sketch of the life of Robert Campbell, pioneer and Mo. Civil War veteran.

Moniteau County. California, *Democrat*
Aug. 5. Sketch of the life of Edmund Burke, pioneer Missouri lawyer.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard*
Aug. 6. Special Old Settlers Edition—good historical and biographical articles.
——— New Florence, *Montgomery Co. Leader*
June 11. Sketch of the life of Alexander Logan, Montgomery Co. pioneer.

Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat*
July 22. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. J. Sitton, pioneer and Mo. Confederate veteran.

Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican*
July 22. Historical sketch of the town of Perryville, Mo. See also later issues.

Phelps County. Rolla, *Herald*
Aug. 12. Biographical sketch of Hon. J. E. Organ, Mo. pioneer, editor, legislator, and Confederate veteran.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*
July 8. List of early Pike county marriages.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free Press*
Aug. 26. Historical sketch of early Methodism in Polk county, by Judge T. H. B. Dunnegan.
——— ——— *Herald*
Aug. 9. Sketch of the life of Andrew J. Hunter, Missouri pioneer and Civil War veteran, and county official.

Putnam County. Unionville. *Republican*
Aug. 4. Fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Republican*. Historical and biographical.

Ralls County. Perry, *Enterprise*
July 15. Fragments of Laddonia Early History.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*
Aug. 26. Old settlers edition. Historical and biographical.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator*
July 8. A list of people in Hardin, Mo., who are past seventy, from *Hardin News*
July 15. Short biography of Gen. Sterling Price.

Aug. 5. Some Early Day History of Clay County Citizens, by R. J. Clark.

———— ———— *Missourian*

June 17. Biographical sketch of Capt. James Love Farris, by Jewell Mayes.

June 24. A Crooked River Legend, by Jewell Mayes.

July 15. Sketch of the life of Adrian C. Ellis, pioneer and Mo. Confederate veteran.

———— ———— *News*

Aug. 19. History of First Presbyterian Church of Richmond, Mo., by W. Earle Dye.

Aug. 26. Recollections of Early Richmond, by Geo. W. Hendley.

St. Clair County. Lowry City, *Independent*

Aug. 26. Pioneer methods of sowing and harvesting, by Hez Bowman.

———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat*

July 15. Reminiscences of Rev. W. W. Green, pioneer.

Aug. 19. Sketch of the life of the late Samuel S. Burdett.

St. Francois County. Bonne Terre, *Register*

June 25. History of Early Lead and Zinc Mining in Missouri, by D. H. Kirkpatrick.

St. Louis City, *Globe-Democrat*

June 1. Sketch of the life of George D. Barnard, St. Louis millionaire merchant philanthropist.

June 6. Recollections of Lincoln, by F. W. Wilson, of Macon, Mo.

June 13. In the Days when the Old Trails road was well beaten.

———— *Republic*

June 6. Sketch of Neosho, Mo., center of the strawberry growing industry.

June 6. The Underground river of Oregon Co. First of a series of articles on natural wonders of the Ozarks.

June 7. Historical sketch of Evangelical Cathedral, St. Louis.

June 13. Sketch of Macon county, Mo., men and industries.

June 19. Scenes in Joplin zinc district rival the gold days of '49.

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July 11. Caverns of the Ozarks, descriptive sketch from the journal of a tour into the interior of Missouri in 1818 and 1819.

July 11. Historical sketch of Potosi, Washington county, by Robertus Love.

July 11. The discoveries of T. J. J. See, Missouri scientist.

July 18. Descriptive sketch of Edina and Knox county, by Robertus Love.

Aug. 5. Sketch of the life of Dr. Samuel H. Melcher, Civil War surgeon who recovered body of Gen. Lyon at Wilson Creek.

Aug. 8. Historic points along the Boone's Lick Trail in Montgomery county.

St. Louis County. St. Louis, Carondelet Branch, *Watchman-Advocate.*

Aug. 20. History of the Oakville Farmers' Club, second of its kind in the Nation.

Saline County. Marshall, *Saline County Progress.*

June 11. Pioneers of Saline county, by Dr. Chastain—A series of historical articles appearing weekly.

July 2. Historical sketches of Saline county, by Dr. Chastain. See prior and later issues.

Shannon County. Eminence, *Current Wave*
July 8. Sketch of the life of Joshua Sholar, pioneer and editor.

Taney County. Branson, *White River Leader*
June 18. Stories of the Pioneers—A series of stories by pioneers of Taney county.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*
June 11. Sketch of the life of Alexander Logan, Warren county pioneer.

Wright County. Hartville, *Democrat*
June 10. Sketch of the life of John Strong Wright, pioneer.

Worth County. Grant City, *Star*
June 10. Sketch of the life of Abraham H. Butler, pioneer and Missouri Civil War veteran.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

Doniphan's Expedition, containing an account of the Conquest of New Mexico, etc., by John T. Hughes, has been made available for the historical reading public by the National Government. Two editions of this work appeared about 1848: one was bound and contained two fine steel engravings of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan and General Sterling Price; the other was unbound, a cheaper edition, and omitted the steel engravings. The latter is the edition that the Government Printing Office at Washington has reproduced. The work was presented by the senior senator from Missouri, Senator William J. Stone, and was printed as Senate Document No. 608 of the 2d session of the 63d Congress. It is available for distribution as such document.

We regard the reprinting of Hughes' *Doniphan's Expedetion* as a specially meritorious work, and Senator Stone is to be congratulated by all Missourians and by all interested in that brilliant page in the military history of the Nation which covers the Mexican War. The first editions of this work were practically inaccessible to the average reader; it is now within the reach of all. One of the greatest of Missouri's military leaders was Col. Alexander W. Doniphan; the most famous Missouri Expedition was under his leadership. The "Xenophon of the Mexican War" with his less than a "Thousand Missourians" achieved much. They performed difficult tasks, they overcame formidable obstacles, they defeated forces many times larger in numbers, they conquered a domain of territory, and without abusing power they returned to their native soil with comparatively full ranks.

Especially opportune is this work by the Government at this time. The State of Missouri at the recent session of the 48th General Assembly appropriated $10,000 to erect a

statue to Col. Doniphan. All interested in the story of this Missourian and his expedition can now avail themselves of a rare opportunity to obtain first hand information from a heretofore almost inaccessible book.

* * * * *

That public-spirited and illustrious Missouri historian, the Honorable Louis Houck, has again contributed towards preserving for posterity the lives and deeds of the early settlers of the State. This latest work of Mr. Houck's is called *Memorial Sketches of Pioneers and Early Settlers of Southeast Missouri*, and was printed for private distribution only. It contains biographical sketches of twelve Missouri pioneers, all of whom were personal friends of the author except Louis Lorimer and Alexander Buckner. The three articles on women who played prominent parts in the early history of southeast Missouri are worthy of special mention since custom has seemingly forbidden writers of state history from taking notice of this class of characters.

The sketches are largely reprints of articles written by Mr. Houck years ago for addresses or for publication in newspapers. The personal element is ever present lending interest and color to the pages. Such a publication while subject to criticism by those habituated only to criticise will always prove of value to students and research workers, and we hope local historians in other parts of the State will be persuaded to attempt similar compilations.

* * * * *

A rare and valuable pamphlet of twelve pages relating to two Missouri statesmen has recently come into the possession of the *Society*. This pamphlet is addressed "To the People of Missouri" and is entitled "*Edward Bates against Thomas H. Benton.*" It is a St. Louis imprint, published in 1828 by Charless and Paschall and its author is Edward Bates. No public men have ever wielded a stronger sway over Missouri politics than did Edward Bates and Thomas H. Benton. The former was one of the leaders of the Whig party in this state for nearly forty years; the latter the conceded chief of the Democratic party for three decades. Al-

though volumes have been written relating to the life of Benton, no biography of Bates has yet appeared. A rich reward awaits the author who will consider the latter statesman.

This pamphlet of *Edward Bates against Thomas H. Benton* throws many side lights on the character of *Old Bullion*. He is accused of being a defaulter of public money, a dishonest debtor, a sharer of the national government's mileage graft, an embezzler of money collected for private individuals, and a man without veracity. Such charges would appear worthless were they not urged by a man of such exemplary character and ability as Edward Bates. Coming from such a source the plausibility of their correctness is so increased that future biographers of Benton will be forced to take them under serious consideration. They will, of course, also enter largely into that part of the life of Bates that was taken up with opposing Benton.

* * * * *

Seventy-Five Years on the Border, by James Williams, of Cameron, Missouri, has recently been donated to the *Society* by the author. Mr. Williams was born in 1834 at Boonville, Missouri, and his book is a collection of reminiscenses of pioneer days in northwestern Missouri. Many interesting and valuable incidents and tales are related that throw light on the social and economic conditions existing in the early days. The recollections of pioneers are valuable source material for the historian. They furnish first hand information on those subjects that today are difficult to trace. When properly interpreted they open new fields for the research worker. The pioneer's memory may sometime err in recalling dates and places with exactness but rarely in describing how the early settlers made their homes, reared their families, raised their produce, milled their grain, hunted, trapped, held social meetings, and conducted business. Information relating to these subjects is the most difficult to obtain except from the mouth of the pioneer himself. It is regrettable that so few of the early settlers of the State have preserved their experiences in the manner of Mr. Williams.

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...nished speaks much for Mr. Woodson's industry and ability.

The most noted member of this family in Missouri was Silas Woodson. A Kentuckian by birth and rearing, he served his native state twice as a lawmaker in the legislature and as a member of the constitutional convention of 1849. While in the latter body, he was alone in advocating the gradual emancipation of slaves. In 1856 he moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, and soon established a lucrative law practice. Between 1860 and 1870 he served as circuit judge in Buchanan county, and during the war was a consistent "Union Democrat" and held a colonel's commission in the Federal Army although not in active service "at the front." He consistently worked for the repeal of the test oaths in the Drake constitution and took no small part in the ultimate abrogation of that organic law. When the Democratic state convention met in 1872 he was chosen chairman by acclamation and was unanimously nominated as the democratic candidate for governor. In November of that year by a large majority Silas Woodson, "Missouri's first Democratic Governor since the War," was elected chief executive of the State. During his term he performed his duties with signal ability, reduced the state debt, and lowered the tax levy. His latter years were spent at his home in St. Joseph in the practice of law and in holding term after term on the circuit bench of Buchanan county. His death was mourned by all who knew him.

Mr. Woodson's book will be especially appreciated by Missourians not only for the biographical sketches and the genealogical tables of the members of so prominent a family in the State, but also because of the lucidity of treatment and the simplicity of arrangement. The plan of treatment is

A valuable recent contribution to the literature on Western Travels is *The Awakening of the Desert*, by Julius C. Birge of St. Louis. This book, unlike many works in this field, is not only well written but is replete with historical information collected by the author from many sources. It presents in an interesting manner an account of a trading expedition that left Whitewater, Wisconsin, for the Pacific Coast in 1866. This account is fortunately based on a carefully written diary kept by the author on the trip. Of the party that started only two members survive today, Mr. Birge and Mr. Benjamin M. Frees, San Diego, California. Several chapters of special worth are devoted to the Mormons. The social and economic life of these people, their persecutions, trials, and privations, their remarkable success in reclaiming the desert, are set forth in a clear and accurate style. Many of the statements made on this subject are also based on first hand information and are free from partisan criticism. Mr. Birge has rendered a service to western history in employing his leisure moments, snatched from a crowded business life, in writing this book.

* * * * *

The *Historical Genealogy of the Woodsons and Their Connections*, by Henry Morton Woodson, Memphis, Tennessee, has recently come from the press of the E. W. Stephens Publishing Company and has been donated to the Society by the author. Both the author and the publisher are to be congratulated in producing such a valuable and artistic volume. The mechanical make-up of this book is nearly perfect. The dozens of plates are clear and well executed, and the colored plates of different coats-of-arms are as fine as any we have seen. The work contains a brief introductory statement, a short historical sketch of the Woodson family, six hundred and sixty-four pages of genealogy, and a remarkably complete index of eighty-one pages—a total of seven hundred and sixty folio pages.

The Virginia Woodson family has played an important part in the history of the states of the Nation from the day its America sire, Dr. John Woodson and his wife, Sara, landed

in Virginia in 1619, to the present time. The author maintains that every Woodson in the United States is descended from this Dr. John Woodson, there being thousands of others with different names who are also Woodson descendants. Starting with this premise, the great extent of the labors of the author is obvious. Years of work were spent in the compilation of this book and that it has been so credibly finished speaks much for Mr. Woodson's industry and ability.

The most noted member of this family in Missouri was Silas Woodson. A Kentuckian by birth and rearing, he served his native state twice as a lawmaker in the legislature and as a member of the constitutional convention of 1849. While in the latter body, he was alone in advocating the gradual emancipation of slaves. In 1856 he moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, and soon established a lucrative law practice. Between 1860 and 1870 he served as circuit judge in Buchanan county, and during the war was a consistent "Union Democrat" and held a colonel's commission in the Federal Army although not in active service "at the front." He consistently worked for the repeal of the test oaths in the Drake constitution and took no small part in the ultimate abrogation of that organic law. When the Democratic state convention met in 1872 he was chosen chairman by acclamation and was unanimously nominated as the democratic candidate for governor. In November of that year by a large majority Silas Woodson, "Missouri's first Democratic Governor since the War," was elected chief executive of the State. During his term he performed his duties with signal ability, reduced the state debt, and lowered the tax levy. His latter years were spent at his home in St. Joseph in the practice of law and in holding term after term on the circuit bench of Buchanan county. His death was mourned by all who knew him.

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such that it requires little effort to trace either forwards or backwards anyone of the descendants of John Woodson. Such merit is possessed by few historical genealogies. Mr. Woodson has succeeded in simplifying the treatment of this kind of literature.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS.

The welcome given the July *Review* in all parts of the State has been pleasing. Several hundred letters have been received expressive of a wide-spread satisfaction. Such appreciation of the work being attempted by the Society is stimulating and encouraging. The *Six Periods of Missouri History* were welcomed most by those writers and students who were especially desirous of obtaining a summary of this State's development. *"Missouri Day" Programs for Missouri Club Women* also appear to have served a need more extended and more pressing than had been imagined even by the editor. The omission of "Missouri Day" programs in this issue was due to the lateness of publication. They will not be inserted again until next year, probably in the April or July number. *Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers* have proven of service in three ways: they have stimulated the exploitation of local Missouri history on the part of the Missouri editor; they have called the people's attention to the historical treasures in the home county and in the State at large; and they have formed the nucleus of an invoice or catalog of those historical articles that for over a century have appeared in the Missouri press.

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The first article in this number of the *Review* is the briefly summarized result of research work extending over several years. The *Fathers of the State* have passed from the personal recollections of all save a few of the old inhabitants. Unfortunately for the history of Missouri, the lives of many have been almost forgotten. Even the biographer and the historian alike are embarrassed in this field because of scanty and frequently unreliable data. Still these were the men who founded the State of Missouri, who framed her first state constitution, who were her first State

officials, who sat in the first Legislatures, who first represented her in both houses of Congress, and who shaped her destiny for decades. Such were the *Fathers of the State*; and justice to Missouri, to her history, and to her people, demands that their lives be preserved in written form.

* * * * *

Mrs. Korn's article on the origin of "Missouri Day" is opportune. To the efforts of Mrs. Korn are Missourians indebted for this day of state-wide celebration. A more appropriate historical day might, however, have been adopted. It is true that the first election of United States Senators from Missouri was held on the first Monday in October, or on October 2, 1820. But the joint resolution of the General Assembly governing this, which was passed on Friday, September 29th, simply stated that the election should take place "on the following Monday", which Monday was the first Monday in October of that year, or October 2nd. Even October 1st would have definitely commemorated the day set by the constitution of 1820 for the establishment of the permanent seat of government, which took place in 1826. But more noteworthy dates are there in the story of the State than October 1st. June 4, 1812, is the birthday of the name *Missouri* as applied officially to this district. July 19, 1820, saw the first constitution of the State adopted, a constitution which superseded the old territorial organic law under certain self-contained exceptions, which marked the transition of Missouri from a territory to a state in internal organization, and which empowered the president of the constitutional convention itself to issue writs of election for state officers and for a Missouri Congressman. August 28, 1820, marks the first State election, and September 18th of that year saw the First General Assembly of the State convened in session. August 10th is the birthday of the State in the Union for on that day in 1821 Missouri was admitted into the sisterhood of states by proclamation of President Monroe. From so many commemorative days it would seem an easy task to select a State anniversary day of peculiar significance and prominence to Missourians. Both July 19th and August

10th are peculiarly fitting birthdays of statehood; the former of *de facto* statehood, the latter of statehood in the Union. These statements are made not in criticism of Mrs. Korn's laudatory work but in full appreciation of her praiseworthy efforts. Mrs. Korn's position and her knowledge of legislative conditions at the last session of the General Assembly are clearly set forth in her paper. While agreeing in part with Mrs. Korn in both the foregoing respects, we are too historically warped to forget July 19th or August 10th in Missouri history. To those familiar with Missouri's struggle for statehood, these two days have a significance similar to that represented in our national history by the Fourth Day of July.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

Secure from the former hazard of fire the library of the Society has been finally placed in quarters both appropriate and fire-proof. The task of moving the one hundred and fifty thousand volumes was completed in August and September. No confusion was present and the books were sorted and shelved as they arrived at the new library building. Several research workers from a distance were able to continue their labors in Missouri history without losing a single hour—a library service remarkable at such a time. The efficiency of the Society has been increased at least one hundred per cent in its new quarters. To those familiar with the old housing in Academic Hall and with the present home, this increased utility is obvious.

Members of the Society and visitors to its rooms have heretofore always remarked at the inadequacy of its home. It had been a matter of surprise that in only fifteen years of existence and under such cramped and unpromising conditions, the Society had been able to gather together the largest collection of Missouri history material in existence. Despite the congratulations on success attained, there was always present the fear of destruction by fire. The members of the last two visiting committees of the General Assembly remarked with force on this point. The danger was so near as to be

obvious to all. In fact it was so probable that the writer had several times planned in his mind the collections to be saved first in case fire broke out in any part of old Academic Hall. As the new Library Building was being hastened to completion, the terrible example of the Minnesota Historical Society in the seventies became more vivid. That Society with its invaluable collections had been housed in poor quarters and a new fire-proof home was finally provided for it. Before the completion of the new quarters, however, fire broke out in the old home. It was only by prompt and almost heroic efforts that so much of the written historical material of that state was saved. Thousands of valuable volumes were lost as it was and many of these could not be replaced. Then, there was the destruction of the New York State Library with its priceless treasures, and, finally, the burning of Missouri's own capitol building. Fortunate indeed have been Missouri and her people that the invaluable records and priceless historical treasures of her State Historical Society have been placed in a home where they will be forever secure from destruction by fire.

The erection of the new fire-proof Library Building is the result of a campaign of popular enlightment that extended over a decade. Two forces worked consistently for such a building—the University of Missouri and the State Historical Society. Special efforts were made during 1905-1907 to secure such a structure which was to be paid for from the State's war claim fund obtained from the Federal Government. On April 8, 1905, the Secretary of the United States Treasury paid into the Treasury of Missouri $475,198.13, for expenses incurred and paid by the State in maintaining troops employed as volunteer soldiers during the Civil War. It was proposed that this money be used for the erection of a Soldiers Memorial Building on the campus of the University of Missouri. This building was to be the home and contain the library of The State Historical Society, the quarters of a State Museum, and the housing of the library of the University of Missouri. This appropriate and most excellent plan met with favor in all parts of the State; the

Missouri editors endorsed it; the old soldiers approved it; and no class apparently opposed it. There was none but realized the need of such a building, none but deemed such an honor to the veterans an appropriate one, and none but appreciated the opportuneness of the Government's deposit and the proposed plan of its disbursement. Notwithstanding such propitious conditions and such hearty response from Missourians, the plan failed. In 1907 the General Assembly of the State apportioned this fund equally among the several counties for the purpose of building or improving roads.

The opportunity for properly housing the Society's library had passed and it was not until 1913 that a Missouri Legislature appreciated the necessity of instant action. In that year $200,000 was appropriated to the University of Missouri to erect a library building and $75,000 more was appropriated for purchasing a site. It was from these appropriations that the present University Library Building was erected.

This building has been given over in part to the University Library; and adequate quarters, comprising about one-half of the building, have been provided the State Historical Society as its permanent home. Owing to the kind courtesy of President A. Ross Hill of the University of Missouri and to his efforts, every accommodation and convenience possible were made for the Society in its former temporary quarters and in its present permanent home. In the latter the Society has its own reading room and offices on the first floor; five large rooms in the basement are given to shelving the newspapers, duplicate official publications of Missouri, publications of other states, and the large collection of Missouriana. The entire building is fire-proof, being built of stone, brick, and concrete reinforced with steel. The permanent doors and shelving are of steel and whereever possible steel was used throughout. The building has been planned with a main part and two side wings. Only the main part has been erected; the wings will be constructed as soon as the Legislature makes appropriations for this pur-

pose. The present building will accommodate the two libraries for about five or six years, the necessity of erecting the wings will then be pressing.

PERSONAL.

HON. WILLIAM S. COWHERD, Missouri lawyer and legislator, died in Pasadena, California, June 20th. Mr. Cowherd was born on a Jackson county farm September 1, 1860, and his early education was obtained in the public schools of that county. In 1881 he was graduated from the University of Missouri and the following year from the School of Law of the same institution. He began the practice of law in Kansas City in 1882 and from this time his advance was rapid. From assistant prosecuting attorney of Jackson county in 1884 he rose to mayor of Kansas City in 1892, and in 1896 was sent to Congress from the Fifth Missouri district, which then comprised the counties of Jackson and Lafayette. After serving four consecutive terms in Congress, Mr. Cowherd was nominated in 1908 as the Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri, but in the Republican landslide of that year was defeated by Herbert S. Hadley. In 1912 he was again a candidate for governor but was defeated for the Democratic nomination by Elliott W. Major. The administration of Mr. Cowherd as mayor of Kansas City was marked for the inauguration of the present park and boulevard system, and his familiarity with municipal affairs later caused him to be made a member of the Congressional committee for the government of the District of Columbia. During the presidential campaign of 1904 Mr. Cowherd was chairman of the National Democratic committee with offices in Washington. Mr. Cowherd had been a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri for several years.

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HON. JAMES N. HOSEY, Civil War veteran and Missouri legislator, died at his home near Brookline, Greene county, in June. Mr. Hosey was born September 25, 1832, in Pennsylvania, was graduated from Meadville College, Meadville, Pa., in 1856, and for four years following was principal of

the academy at West Freedom, Pa. During the Civil War he was first made a captain and later commissioned a major. In 1872 he moved his family to Green County, Missouri. He served as county judge of Greene County and in 1889 was chosen as the Representative of that county in the State Legislature.

* * * * *

MARY BOONE HOSMAN, daughter of Major Nathan Boone and the last grandchild of Daniel Boone, died at Ash Grove, Greene county, Missouri, on June 13th. Mary Boone was born in St. Charles county, January 22, 1822, and moved with her father to Greene county in 1837. Her grandfather, Daniel Boone, was one of the American pioneers of north Missouri; her father, of southwest Missouri. The interesting life of Daniel Boone is the proud possession of Kentucky and Missouri, and has been exploited by biographers of both low and high rank. The career of Major Nathan Boone is not, however, so well known. He was a surveyor and farmer, and was one of the small band to mark off the historic Boone's Lick Road. In 1820 he was elected one of the three delegates from St. Charles county to the Missouri constitutional convention. His military career was a long one, covering thirty-one years and was crowned at the age of seventy-one with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the United States army. Major Nathan Boone was a pioneer of both Missouri and Iowa. In the latter state while on army duty, he was stationed in what is now Boone county, Iowa, and this county was later so named in his honor.

Mary Boone married Alfred Hosman of Greene county in 1841, and they were the parents of thirteen children. Mrs. Hosman was a treasure mine of historical information relating to the Boone family and to the early settlers of southwest Missouri. The State Historical Society of Missouri was fortunate two years past in obtaining quite an extended interview with her through one of her descendants. This was committed to writing and is today preserved in the archives of the Society.

SENATOR M. G. MORAN, St. Joseph attorney and former State Senator from Buchanan county, died August 31st. Mr. Moran was born fifty-seven years ago in Berlin, Wis., his parents moving to Nodaway county, Mo., when he was eleven years old. For two years he attended Georgetown Academy, Washington, D. C., after which he began studying for the priesthood at Layola College, a Jesuit school in Baltimore. After a year spent in study he decided he was not adopted to the priesthood and took up the study of law. At the age of twenty he was admitted to the bar and two years later removed to St. Joseph where he began to engage in politics. In 1887 Moran was elected to the State Senate by the Democrats of his district. In 1910 he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Fourth district but was defeated by C. F. Booher. He was recognized for his wide general knowledge while his impressive figure and ready Irish wit soon gained for him a foremost place as an attorney. As State Senator he was best known as the author of the bill creating the excise board in St. Joseph and of the bill providing for an industrial school at Chillicothe.

* * * * *

HON. JOHN E. ORGAN, Missouri pioneer, editor, legislator, and Confederate veteran, died at his home in Salem, Mo., August 10, 1915. Mr. Organ was born in Champaign county, Ohio, April 7, 1838. He came to Missouri in 1858 and on August 20, 1867, married Miss Martha L. Burkett, of Phelps county. During the Civil War Mr. Organ enlisted in the Confederate army and served from April 7, 1861, to June, 7 1865. He enlisted as a private and closed his military career as a lieutenant of calvary.

Mr. Organ's political career dates back to 1859. He was the first surveyor of Phelps county, and served as Representative from Dent county in several General Assemblies. He was editor of the Salem *Monitor* for years and was an able writer.

Mr. Organ's life was intimately associated with The State Historical Society of Missouri. He labored for its

welfare both as a public official and as a private citizen. The valuable file of the *Monitor* now in the Society's library was donated by him together with hundreds of books and pamphlets. The Society feels a special loss in the death of Mr. Organ. No abler and sincerer friend did it have from the date of its founding than the Hon. John E. Organ.

* * * * *

C. O. TICHENOR, Civil War veteran and pioneer Kansas City lawyer, died June 29th. Born in Appleton, Wisconsin, in 1842, he received his early academic training there. His preparatory work in law was taken at the University of Wisconsin. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was commissioned in the Forty-fourth Wisconsin Volunteer infantry and served as adjutant till the close of the War. As the result of a friendship formed with Major William Warner during his service in the Union army the two young lawyers went to Kansas City at the close of the war and opened a law office in 1865. In the early eighties Mr. Tichenor severed his connection with the law firm and afterwards practiced alone. He was a recognized authority on points of law, the practice of which he preferred to the uncertainties of politics. He never held a public office, though on several occasions he sat on the bench in the Kansas City courts in the absence of the regular judges and was frequently called in to sit with judges of the Supreme Court in reviewing cases.

GENERAL.

General Sterling Price Monument: On June 17, 1915, the fifty-fourth anniversary of the battle of Boonville, there was unveiled in Price Memorial Park in Keytesville, Missouri, a monument to General Sterling Price. Soldier, statesman and civilian, it was a fitting tribute that this should take place on the anniversary of the first battle that this great man participated in during the Civil War.

A heavy rain the day previous marred the exercises some, and prevented many from attending; but the esteem in which this man was held, not only in his former home but in all the State, even though he has been dead forty-eight

years, was such that those who knew him, those yet surviving who followed him during four long and sanguinary years, with their descendants, together with the descendants of his contemporaries and soldiers, were present in such numbers as to tax to the utmost the cares of the committee that had in hand the entertainment of visitors.

Distinguished newspaper men of the State, State officers, both of our distinguished United States Senators, Confederate veterans from the Confederate Home at Higginsville and from various parts of the State, a detachment of soldiers and many eminent citizens of this great Commonwealth, gave the occasion one of more than local interest.

The veil was lifted by Miss Hazel Price, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Hon. A. B. Price, of Glasgow, Mo., who is a grandson of him of who it may be justly said, was one of the most popular men in the State at any time or period.

The monument is a beautiful creation of massive marble, on which stands in heroic life size a solid bronze figure of him who spent many years of his time in the service of those he loved; within one hundred yards of where his men assembled on that August day in 1846, to begin that long march to Mexico and victory; and as the veil was removed which exposed to view the product of the artist's skill, a major general's salute of sixteen guns was fired. The figure represents the General standing with his hat in hand and addressing his men. It is eight feet high and is said by survivors of his army to be a splendid likeness. No photograph of General Price taken in private life can be found, and he rarely consented to have his picture taken in uniform.

The shaft of the monument has heavy bronze plates on each side. The north side bears the following inscription: "General Sterling Price. Born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, September 11, 1809. Resided in Chariton County, Missouri, 1821-1865. Speaker of the House of Representatives of Missouri General Assembly, 1840-1844. Elected to Congress, 1844. Participated in war with Mexico, 1846-48, rising from rank of Colonel to that of Brigadier General.

Chairman of Convention of 1861. Major General in command of Missouri State troops 1861-1862. Died in St. Louis, Missouri, September 29, 1867." The south side: "General Sterling Price, 1809-1867." The west side: "Governor Missouri, 1853-1857." The east side: "Major General, C. S. A., 1862-1865."

Excellent and appropriate addresses were made by Senators Stone and Reed. Governor Major and Ex-Governor Hadley were on the program, but were unavoidably prevented from being present.

The 46th General Assembly made an appropriation of $5,000.00, "to be used in the erection of a suitable monument of bronze and stone, to the memory of Sterling Price, to be located in Price's memorial park, Keytesville, Mo."

The ladies of the vicinity of Keytesville have labored for years to secure this recognition for the most distinguished citizen that ever lived in this community. It was through their untiring efforts that the plat of ground was procured, "to be used forever as a Public Park." They raised the money by which it was bought; and while the State provided the monument, yet the ladies deserve more credit than any others for the ultimate success of the project.

O. P. RAY,
Keytesville, Mo.

* * * * *

Abram Hill Monument: The unveiling of a government monument over the grave of Abram Hill at Richmond, Mo., took place on August 12th. Patriotic and impressive ceremonies were conducted by the state D. A. R. regent and vice-regent, Mrs. Mary S. Salisbury and Mrs. Herbert Owen, assisted by the Allen-Morton-Watkins Chapter of the D. A. R.

Abram Hill is reported to have been the only Revolutionary soldier buried in Ray county. He left many descendants and is well remembered by that section of the State. Congress some time ago appropriated money for markers at the graves of all Revolutionary soldiers and the one at the

grave of Abram Hill was so erected under the direction of the local D. A. R. of Richmond, Mo.

* * * * *

Missouri Capitol: The laying of the corner stone of Missouri's new capitol building took place on the afternoon of June 24, 1915. Hundreds of Missourians from all parts of the State attended the ceremonies. A copper box containing current coins, newspapers and documents was placed in the cornerstone, which was laid by Grandmaster Cotton.

Missouri has already occupied ten different capitol buildings, two of which were permanent structures and which were both destroyed by fire. The building now under erection will cost $3,500,000 and will be fire-proof. It is reported to be the finest building west of the Mississippi River.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to a thousand members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. They treat of subjects that lovers of Missouri are interested in. They are full of new information and are not hackneyed or trite. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

In addition to the monographs, the *Review* contains a list of books recently published by Missourians or on Missouri, and a list of Missouri historical articles that have appeared in the newspapers of the State. The last is an aid to teachers, editors and writers, and will become even more valuable with age.

Departing from the custom adopted by most historical societies, this journal contains reviews of only those books and articles that relate to Missouri. This concentration makes possible a more thorough and, to Missourians, a more interesting and valuable historical contribution than could otherwise be obtained.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the report activities of the Society. It also lists of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historical fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL X, No. 2 COLUMBIA JANUARY, 1916

LINCOLN AND MISSOURI.[1]

Walter B. Stevens.

This is the narrative of "Lincoln and Missouri." The relationship was intimate and continuous for eight years. It meant much to Mr. Lincoln. On Missouri the President depended for the effectiveness of his border states policy. That policy he believed was vital to the salvation of the Union.

1857—1860.

On the 7th of April, 1857, Abraham Lincoln and Francis P. Blair were conferring at Springfield. With that date begins this narrative of "Lincoln and Missouri." The time was four years before the Civil War. Buchanan had been inaugurated the preceding month. Lincoln had come back to political activity. He had shaped the formation of the Republican party of Illinois. He had suggested the candidate for governor and that candidate had been elected,—Bissell of Belleville. Frank Blair had advanced from local politics to the national field. He was entering upon his first term in Congress.

There were other circumstances which made the conference of these two men significant. In March Chief

1. Read by the author at the Annual Dinner of the State Historical Society of Missouri, December 10, 1915.

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Justice Taney had handed down the Dred Scott decision of 125 pages. The gist was that the Missouri Compromise was naught. The political shibboleth of more than a third of a century had vanished. It was unconstitutional. Congress had not prohibited slavery in the territories, as it supposed it had. The leading lawyer in the case for Dred Scott, the St. Louis slave who looked like an African king, had been Montgomery Blair the older brother of Frank Blair.

Therefore the slavery issue suddenly loomed more portentous than ever. Lincoln had made the platform of the new party in Illinois opposition to extension of slavery and had won a state victory. Blair had come forward to champion free soil. Several years he had been held in check on the slavery question by his relative and political leader, Benton. But in the campaign of 1856, Benton's sun had set. The old Roman had made his last appeal at the polls and had been beaten for governor. He had gone back to Washington, stricken with a mortal disease. Blair's cousin, B. Gratz Brown, after being for some years a contributor, had become editor of the Missouri Democrat. In the winter of 1857, that paper was giving more and more attention to the slavery question. Benton sensed the change. He wrote to a wealthy and influential friend:

"I wish you to get the St. Louis Democrat—change its name and character—for no useful paper can now ever be made of it. I will be in St. Louis in April and assist you. The paper is given up to the slavery subject, agitating state emancipation against my established and known policy."

That is not all of the letter. Benton prefaced his demand for a change in ownership and policy of the newspaper. He wrote this indignant reference to Blair, B. Gratz Brown and the other emancipationists:

"My friends told me that these persons would turn out for abolition in the State as soon as the election was over but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the State, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended

to do, is the greatest outrage I have ever experienced. Those who have done it have never communicated one word to me in justification or explanation of their conduct; for it is something they can neither explain nor justify."

The protest of Benton was of no avail. The Missouri Democrat ceased to be a Benton paper. The files of 1857 show adroit editorial steering. B. Gratz Brown continued to combat vigorously the charges of other papers that the Democrat stood for abolition. But at the same time the editorials committed the paper against slavery in the territories, especially Kansas. And no occasion was missed to proclaim, "The Union must be preserved."

Lincoln had a law partner,—William H. Herndon. He called him "Billy," divided his fees with him, but did not share his partner's radical views on slavery. Herndon heard enough of the conference between Lincoln and Blair to write the next day to Theodore Parker, the Boston abolitionist:

"I had a most entertaining conversation on yesterday with one of the leading emancipationists of Missouri, and one of the leading Republicans of this State. Do not ask who they are—will tell you about it ere long. This is the substance of it: the Missouri Democrat is to open and bloom for Republicanism in 1860. The Louisville Journal is to follow, and some paper in Virginia is to fall into the trail, all of which is, as it were, to happen accidentally. The Democrat is simply to suggest; the Journal is to suggest still stronger, and at last all are to open wide for Republicanism. As these two men said, 'We are to see the devil in these border States in 1860.' These two men are more than ordinary men; the conversation was in my office, and was confidential; therefore I keep dark and request you to do so on the Missouri man's account,—don't care for the Illinois man. You know the Illinois man."

The time was most opportune for Lincoln and Blair to get together. They were in close agreement on the slavery question. Each in his State had taken pronounced stand against extension of slavery. Both believed that a house

divided against itself can not stand. Neither was an abolitionist. Neither was anti-slavery in the moral sense that inspired the northerners. But viewing the issue as the great political and economic question which must be settled peaceably, both of them looked for the solution in the border States with Missouri as the key to the solution.

About the time of the conference, Mrs. Lincoln wrote to her sister in Kentucky:

"Although Mr. Lincoln is, or was, a Fremont man, you must not include him with so many of those who belong to that party, an abolitionist. In principle he is far from it. All he desires is that slavery shall not be extended. Let it remain where it is."

Also, about the time of the conference there appeared in Missouri an authorized biographical sketch of Blair which defined his position:

"He is no believer in the unholy and disgusting tenets advocated by abolition fanaticism but advocates the gradual abolition of slavery in the Union and the colonization of the slaves emancipated in Central America, which climate appears to be happily adapted to their constitutional idiosyncracies."

Gradual emancipation became a growing issue. Missouri was an encouraging field to start the propaganda which Lincoln and Blair thought might hold the border. In the first place the slave population of Missouri was comparatively small,—114,935 slaves of a total census of 1,182,912, about one in ten. In the second place most of the Missouri slaves were in contiguous counties along the Missouri river. Blair and the other emancipationists made much of the economic argument They urged that slave labor was holding back the development of the State. Peter L. Foy, who had been the correspondent of the Missouri Democrat at Jefferson City and in Washington, wrote a series of articles on the unfair competition of black labor with white labor. These articles aroused the white labor. Mr. Lincoln made Mr. Foy postmaster at St. Louis soon after his inauguration. B. Gratz Brown was elected to the Legislature about the same time that

Frank Blair became a Member of Congress. Brown made an emancipation speech in the Legislature which caused agitation throughout the State. Henry A. Clover and S. H. Gardner supported Brown's emancipation argument.

The gradual emancipationists were strong enough in St. Louis to elect their candidates for mayor,—John M. Wimer in 1857, and O. D. Filley in 1858. William Hyde was a reporter on the Missouri Republican at this time. He was sent to Springfield to report the Illinois Legislature. In his reminiscences, given the Globe-Democrat after he retired from the editorship of the Republican, Mr. Hyde wrote:

"Mr. Francis Preston Blair, who became the universally recognized leader of the emancipation party, and Messrs. Edward Bates, B. Gratz Brown, Dr. Linton, John D. Stevenson, John How, O. D. Filley and other conspicuous members were not believers in immediate emancipation. They proposed and advocated a gradual system—a fixed time after which children born of slave parents would be free, and a further fixed time in the life of each slave when all should be free. Deportation and colonization was a dream of this utopia, involving compensation to slave owners who might demand the same for the term of service cut off by the act of emancipation as nearly as it could be calculated."

"It was a sufficient indorsement of Frank Blair in a partisan sense," continued Mr. Hyde," that the political career of Abraham Lincoln, from the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was patterned on his model. In all their public discussions both were anxious that the agitation of the slavery question should not imperil the Union."

When he took his outspoken position, Mr. Blair began freeing his own slaves. In 1859 he went into the St. Louis circuit court and "in consideration of faithful services and for divers other good and sufficient reasons moving me thereto," set free Sarah Dupe and her three daughters. He had previously freed the husband and father, Henry Dupe.

In the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858 the relationship of Lincoln and the Missouri emancipationists had its part. The Missouri Democrat supported Lincoln stren-

uously. The paper's correspondent at Springfield was John Hay, who was then reading law in Mr. Lincoln's office. John G. Nicolay, a country editor and one of Mr. Lincoln's political lieutenants, was at the same time traveling correspondent for the Democrat. Hay attended the Lincoln-Douglas joint debates and sent graphic and extended reports to the Democrat. Nicolay also attended the meetings and took subscriptions to the Democrat. He sent in lists of hundreds of names.

Frank Blair went to Illinois and participated in the campaign. At Springfield and at Jacksonville, Lincoln and Blair rode together in the procession and according to the Missouri Democrat were given a reception "cordial and magnificent." The Democrat contained impressions made upon Blair as he rode through Central Illinois with Lincoln:

"No resident of a slave State could pass through the splendid farms of Sangamon and Morgan, without permitting an envious sigh to escape him at the evident superiority of free labor. In the slave States, it would seem that man and the soil which he cultivates are enemies. It would seem that he must extort its produce as the tax-gatherer extorts tribute from a conquered but hostile people. In the free States, on the contrary, the soil seems to shower its wealth upon the cultivator with a most generous and royal bounty. It brings forth kindly all abundance, and smiles upon him in all the four seasons. The dumb earth itself seems to wear a cheerless aspect, and to yield its wealth charily and reluctantly to slave labor."

After the senatorial campaign Lincoln's relations with the Missouri emancipationists became still closer. Hay continued his connection with the Democrat. His correspondence went from Lincoln's office. It was frequently inspired directly by Mr. Lincoln. Tradition has it that Mr. Lincoln wrote some of the articles to appear in the Democrat. Mr. Lincoln had the same strong appreciation for close press connection that Benton had. At different periods he had written much for the Springfield Journal. Now he cultivated this relationship with the Missouri Democrat for a double

reason. St. Louis was a city much larger and more important than Chicago. But more than that, the St. Louis newspaper connection was a strong factor in the border states campaign of 1860 for which Lincoln and Blair had laid the basis in 1857.

LINCOLN'S NOMINATION.

Into this intimate relationship of Lincoln and Missouri entered a personality not publicly conspicuous at the time but of great influence. Blair and Brown and other young men were in the foreground carrying the banners of free soil, free democracy, gradual emancipation, white labor, colonization and the like. In the background was Edward Bates counseling and encouraging. He had seen the great Whig party go to pieces. He was in sympathy with the work of new party construction which Lincoln was doing in Illinois. He was not openly active in the Lincoln movement. He was the wise adviser. When the time came to send a delegation from Missouri to the Republican nominating convention at Chicago in 1860, Mr. Bates permitted his name to be used as the ostensible candidate of his State. The delegation went instructed for him, but, as Mr. Bates afterwards explained, this was not with the expectation on his or the delegation's part that he would be nominated. The well understood purpose was to hold the delegation intact against an eastern candidate,—William H. Seward or any other who might develop strength. Lincoln was the choice of the Missourians and the vote was to be given to him when it would do the most good. The border states plan, which Blair and the other gradual emancipationists had been organizing, was not to be revealed by publicly committing Missouri to Lincoln.

When the delegates came together in Chicago it appeared that the organization,—the machine as it would be called now,—was for Seward. The New Yorkers came with much beating of drums. The delegates were accompanied by a small army of shouters, and as the latter marched and countermarched they were headed by John C. Heenan, the

Benicia boy, the champion American pugilist, as their standard bearer. Seemingly the support of the other candidates was local and not impressive upon the uninstructed delegates. Then came the surprise which Blair and the other border states men had prepared.

The youngest delegate in that convention was A. G. Proctor. He was a member of the Kansas delegation. The Illinois Historical Society preserves in its collection at Springfield Mr. Proctor's personal recollections of the influences and arguments which turned Kansas and other uninstructed States to Lincoln and made his nomination certain. The delegates according to Mr. Proctor were about equally divided into two elements:

"The element represented largely by the eastern people who were of that great moral upheaval against slavery as an institution, who hated it for its hateful self.

"The element willing to tolerate slavery within limits where it existed and seemed to belong, but determined to prevent its extension into the free northwest at every hazard, even to the invoking of civil war."

"The first element," said Mr. Proctor, "wanted Seward. The second element was looking for a leader. At this juncture there came to the front, from sources not before taken into consideration, a movement led by the men of the border States. This body of resolute men from Maryland, from the mountains of Virginia, from Eastern Tennessee, from Kentucky and from all over Missouri had organized and selected Cassius M. Clay as leader and spokesman. They were a group of men as earnest as I have ever met. They asked for a conference with us, which we arranged without delay. The Kansas delegation was the first to receive them. It may have occurred to them that Kansas was awake to what was coming, and would more likely appreciate the full force of their logic. The company completely filled our room. There was something about the atmosphere of that meeting that seemed to mean business. Mr. Clay was a man of strong personality. He had all of the mannerisms of a real Kentucky 'colonel'—very courtly, very earnest, very eloquent in address.

" 'Gentlemen,' he said in beginning, 'we are on the verge of a great civil war.'

"One of our Kansas delegates said, 'Mr. Clay, we have heard that before.'

"Clay straightened himself and, with a real oratorical pose, exclaimed 'Sir, you undoubtedly have heard that before. But,

sir, you will soon have it flashed to you in a tone that will carry certain conviction.' He went on: 'We are from the South. We know our people well. I say to you the South is getting ready for war. In that great strip of border land, reaching from the eastern shore of Maryland to the western border of Missouri, stands a body of resolute men, determined that this Union shall not be destroyed without resistance. We are not pro-slavery men. We are not anti-slavery men, but Union Republicans, ready and willing to take up arms for the defense of the border. We are intensely in earnest. It means very much—what you do here—to you and to us. Our homes and all we possess are in peril. We want to hold this Union strength for a Union army. We want to work with you for a nomination which will give us courage and confidence. We want you to nominate Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was born among us, and we believe in him. Give us Lincoln for a leader and I promise you we will push back the disloyal hordes of secession and transfer the line of border warfare from the Ohio to the regions beyond the Tennessee, where it belongs. We will make war upon the enemies of our country at home and join you in driving secession to its lair. Do this for us, and let us go home and prepare for the conflict.'

"No one could give a satisfactory report of that appeal. It was the most impressive talk that I had ever listened to. That delegation of border men, headed by Mr. Clay, made this appeal to most of the delegations of the different States. The effect was instantly felt. There was getting together of those who felt the Lincoln sentiment all along the line. This movement formed the group around which the earnest Lincoln men rallied and organized their forces. I honestly believe that this was the movement that gave Mr. Lincoln his nomination. It was the turning point. It awoke all to a realization of what was before us and compelled recognition of a new element on which might rest great results for good or evil. In short, this action of the bordermen set us thinking."

Lincoln was nominated. One of the earliest and strongest and most effective indorsements of the nomination came from Edward Bates. In a letter to O. H. Browning, Mr. Bates not only declared for Lincoln but he pointed out in his convincing way the peculiar fitness of Mr. Lincoln for the conditions confronting the country. He considered Mr. Lincoln stronger than the platform.

"As to the platform," Mr. Bates wrote, "I have little to say, because whether good or bad, that will not constitute the ground of my support of Mr. Lincoln."

"I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound, safe, national man. He could not be sectional if he tried. His birth, the habits of his life

and his geographical position compel him to be national. All his feelings and interests are identified with the great valley of the Mississippi, near whose center he has spent his whole life. That valley is not a section, but conspicuously the body of the nation, and, large as it is, it is not capable of being divided into sections, for the great river cannot be divided. It is one and indivisible and the north and the south are alike necessary to its comfort and prosperity. Its people, too, in all their interests and affections, are as broad and generous as the regions they inhabit. They are emigrants, a mixed multitude, coming from every State in the Union, and from most countries in Europe. They are unwilling, therefore, to submit to any one petty local standard. They love the nation as a whole, and they love all its parts, for they are bound to them all, not only by a feeling of common interest and mutual dependence, but also by the recollections of childhood and youth, by blood and friendship, and by all those social and domestic charities which sweeten life, and make this world worth living in. The valley is beginning to feel its power, and will soon be strong enough to dictate the law of the land. Whenever that state of things shall come to pass, it will be most fortunate for the nation to find the powers of the government lodged in the hands of men whose habits of thought, whose position and surrounding circumstances constrain them to use those powers for general and not sectional ends."

With such broad and statesmanlike views of the situation, Mr. Bates led up to his personal and intimate estimate of Mr. Lincoln:

"I have known Mr. Lincoln for more than twenty years, and therefore have a right to speak of him with some confidence. As an individual he has earned a high reputation for truth, courage, candor, morals and amiability, so that as a man he is most trustworthy. And in this particular he is more entitled to our esteem than some other men, his equals, who had far better opportunities and aids in early life. His talents and the will to use them to the best advantage are unquestionable; and the proof is found in the fact that, in every position in life, from his humble beginning to his present well earned elevation, he has more than fulfilled the best hopes of his friends. And now in the full vigor of his manhood and in the honest pride of having made himself what he is, he is the peer of the first men of the nation, well able to sustain himself and advance his cause against any adversary, and in any field where mind and knowledge are the weapons used. In politics he has acted out the principles of his own moral and intellectual character. He has not concealed his thoughts or hidden his light under a bushel. With the boldness of conscious rectitude and the frankness of

downright honesty, he has not failed to avow his opinions of public officers upon all fitting occasions. I give my opinion freely in favor of Mr. Lincoln and I hope that for the good of the whole country he may be elected."

LINCOLN AND THE BLAIRS.

Lincoln was elected. Missouri gave him only 17,028 votes out of more than 165,000. But Missouri divided hopelessly the great bulk of the vote in large sections among three other Presidential tickets. The effect of the campaign, which the gradual emancipationists had carried on in Missouri after the Lincoln-Blair conference at Springfield in 1857, was not to be judged by the Lincoln vote of 17,028. It was to be traced in the disintegration of the great majority into helpless factions. Missouri polled that year one vote for every six white persons in the population. Nearly the entire voting strength was brought to the polls by the intense interest felt. Douglas carried the State, but by only one-third of the vote cast. He led the Constitutional Union party by fewer than 600 votes. The disturbing influence of the slavery issue raised by Lincoln and the Missouri emancipationists had done its worst for Missouri. It had broken party lines. It had shattered the Democratic organization.

Lincoln was elected. Edward Bates had declined a place in the Fillmore cabinet a few years previously. So much concerned about the national situation was he now that he accepted the appointment of Attorney General in the Lincoln cabinet. Montgomery Blair, brother of Frank Blair, was appointed Postmaster General. This was equivalent to giving Missouri two of the seven places in the cabinet for Montgomery Blair had lived fifteen years in Missouri and had moved to Washington only a short time before. Here is more evidence of what his relationship with Missouri meant in the mind of President Lincoln. Other proofs came in quick succession. Frank Blair made trips to Springfield between the election in November and the departure of Lincoln for Washington in February. He kept the President-elect informed of every step in that game that was going on

for the possession of the St. Louis arsenal with its 60,000 muskets and munitions of war, more than there was in all of the other slave States. He told Mr. Lincoln that if the southern rights administration of Missouri gained control of the arsenal and its contents the State would be carried into the Confederacy and with Missouri the other border States would be lost. Blair was in Springfield the latter part of February and from there he hurried to Washington to report the rumor that the secessionists would attempt to seize the arsenal on the day of Lincoln's inauguration and to urge President Buchanan to put Lyon in charge. The Minute Men allowed the 4th of March to pass without the threatened attack. Nine days later President Lincoln gave Lyon command of the arsenal and the opportunity of the state government was lost.

Fort Sumpter fell on the 13th of April. The President called for 75,000 men, of which Missouri's quota was four regiments of infantry. Governor Claiborne F. Jackson replied to the President's call:

"Not one man will Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

Frank Blair arrived in St. Louis from Washington the day Governor Jackson sent the foregoing message. He had in his pocket an order on the arsenal for 5,000 muskets "to arm loyal citizens," another indication of what "Lincoln and Missouri" meant. Blair telegraphed to Washington:

"Send order at once for mustering men into service to Captain N. Lyon. It will then be surely executed, and we will fill your requisition in two days."

The order came, "muster into service four regiments." This was done. A week later, on the 30th of April, Mr. Lincoln gave expression to his extraordinary relationship with Missouri in the following, addressed to Captain Lyon:

"The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding with those heretofore enlisted, ten thousand in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States and for the

protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri; and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose by yourself and by Messrs. Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and Francis P. Blair, Jr., proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

There is no parallel to this act in that early period of the war. Old General Winfield Scott commanding the army wrote his indorsement on the order:

"It is revolutionary times, and therefore I do not object to the irregularity of this."

It was revolution. But President Lincoln realized what it meant to hold Missouri in the Union and he did not stop at revolution which put State and city in the control of a committee of public safety composed of Missourians he trusted.

In those four or five early months of 1861, which settled Missouri's status, Frank Blair was going and coming between Washington and St. Louis. He came home from one of these trips with another proof in his pocket of what Lincoln and Missouri meant. This was no less than an order for the removal of General W. S. Harney at such time as Blair in his judgment should deem best. After Blair had departed with this order the President wrote to him a personal letter, dated May 18. This was eight days after the Camp Jackson affair:

"We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We had better have him as a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him, and now if we relieve

him again the public ask, why this vacillation? "Still, if in your judgment it is indispensable, let it be so."

The influence of the Blairs with Mr. Lincoln was strong. Not only was the younger Montgomery Blair an official adviser, not only was the judgment of Francis P. Blair in Missouri matters of great weight, but the President listened in regard to his cherished border States policy to the counsel of the elder Montgomery Blair. The relationship was peculiar. The President was not under the influence of the Blairs in the sense that he leaned weakly upon them. But he believed that the maintenance of the Union depended upon the course of Missouri and the other border States. In that belief, he recognized the value of the advice and support of the Blairs. Just how he regarded the Blairs is shown in one of the President's informal talks which John Hay wrote into his diary:

"The Blairs have to an unusual degree the spirit of clan. Their family is a close corporation. Frank is their hope and pride. They have a way of going with a rush for anything they undertake; especially have Montgomery and the old gentleman."

When he talked in this way, the President had in mind the Fremont fiasco in Missouri.

FREMONT AND MISSOURI.

On the first day of July, 1861, John C. Fremont came home from France. On the third of July he was appointed a major general and the Western Department with headquarters at St. Louis was created for him. Fremont reached St. Louis on the 25th of July. Then followed in quick succession the disastrous battle of Wilson's Creek and Lyon's death and Fremont's proclamation. Fremont declared martial law throughout Missouri. He ordered that "all persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial and if found guilty shall be shot." He declared the property of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active

part with their enemies in the field, "to be confiscated." And "their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared freemen."

This brief reference to Fremont's three months in Missouri is necessary to the understanding of Mr. Lincoln's intimate relations with this State. Fremont was appointed a major general and given the command in Missouri on the "earnest solicitation" of the Blairs. This President Lincoln stated afterwards in conversation which John Hay, his secretary, wrote in his diary. Mr. Lincoln said that he "thought well of Fremont" at the time but afterwards concluded that the general had "absolutely no military capacity." The Blairs reached this conclusion before Mr. Lincoln did. Frank Blair went to St. Louis to help Fremont get well started. "At last," said Mr. Lincoln, "the tone of Frank's letters changed. It was a change from confidence to doubt and uncertainty. They were pervaded with a tone of sincere sorrow and of fear that Fremont would fail. Montgomery showed them to me, and we were both grieved at the prospect.. Soon came the news that Fremont had issued his emancipation order, and had set up a bureau of abolition, giving free papers, and occupying his time apparently with little else."

Immediately after seeing Fremont's emancipation order Mr. Lincoln wrote him:

"Two points in your proclamation of August 20 give me some anxiety:

"First. Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation, without first having my approbation and consent.

"Second. I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, there-

fore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

"This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you."

Frank Blair had become so convinced that Fremont was doing the Union cause great injury in Missouri that he criticised him in a newspaper article. Fremont placed Blair under arrest. Blair then sent to Washington charges against Fremont. Montgomery Blair, the younger, on the suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, came on to St. Louis to make a personal investigation. On the way he passed Mrs. Fremont, the daughter of Thomas H. Benton, taking to Washington the answer of her husband to the President's letter asking that the proclamation be modified. Mrs. Fremont arrived at a late hour, went to the White House about midnight and insisted upon a personal interview with the President. The President, describing to friends the experience, said she "taxed me so violently with many things that I had to exercise all the awkward tact I have to avoid quarreling with her. She surprised me by asking why their enemy, Montgomery Blair, had been sent to Missouri. She more than once intimated that if General Fremont should decide to try conclusions with me, he could set up for himself."

Fremont declined to be guided by the President's friendly suggestion. He defended his action in regard to slaves. He insisted that an official order be issued directing him to change his proclamation if it must be done. The order was sent. It drew upon Mr. Lincoln harsh criticism from anti-slavery people in the North. It intensified the factional differences in Missouri. In a few weeks Fremont was relieved.

The President regarded Fremont's proclamation more seriously than his friendly letter might indicate. He wrote another letter, much longer, to O. H. Browning of Illinois showing that Fremont's action was a dangerous menace to

the border States policy. This letter he marked "Private and Confidential." Mr. Browning made the letter public before the Illinois Bar Association in 1882.

Executive Mansion, Washington, Sept. 22, 1861.

Hon. O. H. Browning.

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 17th is just received, and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law, which you had assisted in making, and presenting to me, less than a month before, is odd enough. But this is a very small part. General Fremont's proclamation, as to confiscation of property, and the liberation of slaves, is purely political and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize a farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this, as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them he can seize them and use them, but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by lawmakers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular, with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume th reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it as being the only means of saving the Government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the Government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States—any government of constitution and laws—wherein a general or a president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a Member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the Government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so

if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky Legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of the capital. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election, and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly. You must not understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Fremont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid General Fremont to shoot men under the proclamation. I understand that to be within military law, but I also think, and so privately wrote General Fremont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I did not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing General Fremont on any ground connected with this proclamation, and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground.

Your friend, as ever,
A. Lincoln.

"COMPENSATED ABOLISHMENT."

"Compensated abolishment" was a phrase which became widely current in the winter of 1861-2. It was coined in the border States' policy of the Administration. Lincoln and the Missourians who had been for gradual emancipation before the war were now for compensated abolishment. They proposed that the loyal slaveholders of the border accept pay for their human property before emancipation by force was applied to the Confederate States. They looked to Missouri to pioneer the way.

As early as his message to Congress on December 3, 1861, the President said the government must use all indispensable means to maintain the Union. He hinted at colonization as a possible remedy for slavery.

On the 6th of March he sent to Congress a message recommending pay for slaves of the loyal. He wrote private letters urging the initiation of emancipation legislation. "I say 'initiation,'" he wrote, "because in my judgment gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all."

On the 10th of March, he invited the Missourians and the other Members of Congress from border States to the White House for a conference and presented his plan for gradual compensated abolishment. Only two of the Missourians favored the plan. They were Senator John B. Henderson and Representative John W. Noell. Frank Blair, who was for the plan, was not there. Subsequently he wrote a letter on the policy to Rudolph Doehn of Missouri in which he declared himself for a "gradual, peaceful and just measure of emancipation."

After the March conference the President urged his views upon the Members of Congress individually. He chose Senator Henderson to champion the pay-for-slaves policy. Blair was in the field with his command. Henderson had entered the Senate by appointment from Governor Gamble, taking the place of Trusten Polk who had gone into the Confederate army. Henderson was then but little beyond the age which made him eligible for the Senate. The President took him into his confidence. Some years ago, in Washington, Senator Henderson gave the writer his recollections. There was great pressure being brought to bear upon the President to declare general emancipation. Delegations of ministers were coming to Washington and demanding the freedom of the slaves. The leaders of the Republican party were insistent. Senator Zach. Chandler of Michigan, Senator Ben Wade of Ohio and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts called almost daily at the White House to tell the President what he ought to do. Senator

Henderson was sent for frequently to report how the border States policy was progressing.

"As I went in one day," Senator Henderson said, "I noticed that the President looked troubled. He was sitting in one of his favorite attitudes—in a rocking chair with one leg thrown over the arm. I knew that he suffered terribly from headaches, and I said:

" 'Mr. President, you must have one of your headaches; you look so gloomy.'

" 'No,' said he, 'it isn't headache this time. Chandler has been here to talk again about emancipation, and he came on the heels of Wade and Sumner, who were here on the same errand. I like these three men, but they bother me nearly to death. They put me in the situation of a boy I remember when I was going to school.' "

Senator Henderson noted the brightening of Mr. Lincoln's face. He recognized the signs that a story was coming. Mr. Lincoln leaned forward, began to smile, and clasped his hands around the knee of the leg resting on the arm of the chair.

"The text-book was the Bible," Mr. Lincoln went on. "There was a rather dull little fellow in the class who didn't know very much. We were reading the account of the three Hebrews cast into the fiery furnace. The little fellow was called on to read and he stumbled along until he came to the names of the three Hebrews —Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. He couldn't do anything with them. The teacher pronounced them over very slowly and told the boy to try. The boy tried and missed. This provoked the teacher and he slapped the little fellow, who cried vigorously. Then the boy tried again but he couldn't get the names. 'Well,' said the teacher impatiently, 'never mind the names. Skip them and go on.' The poor boy drew his shirt sleeve across his eyes two or three times, snuffed his nose and started on to read. He went along bravely a little way, and then he suddenly stopped, dropped the book down in front of him, looked despairingly at the teacher and burst out crying. 'What's the matter now?' shouted the teacher, all out of patience. 'H-h-here's them same darn three fellers agin,' sobbed the boy.

"That," said the President, "is just my fix today, Henderson. Those same darn three fellers have been here again with their everlasting emancipation talk."

The President stopped a few moments to enjoy the story, and becoming serious, continued:

"But Sumner and Wade and Chandler are right about it. I know it and you know it, too. I've got to do something and it can't be put off much longer. We can't get through this terrible war with slavery existing. You've got sense enough to know that.

Why can't you make the border States members see it? Why don't you turn in and take pay for your slaves from the government? Then all your people can give their hearty support to the Union. We can go ahead with emancipation of slaves by proclamation in the other States and end the trouble."

As early as May, 1862, the President told Senator Henderson of his intention to issue the emancipation proclamation. Action was not taken until six months later and then it was not to take effect until January 1, 1863. The President held out as long as he could, hoping to carry out the border States policy upon which his heart was set. On the 12th of July he again invited the delegation from Missouri and the Members from other States to come to the White House. He read a carefully written appeal to them to adopt his policy of compensated abolishment. He said:

"I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended."

Twenty of these Members sent their reply two days later. They pledged their loyalty but declared their judgment to be against the pay-for-slaves policy. The Missourians signing the paper were Senator Robert Wilson and Representatives James S. Rollins, William A. Hall, Thomas L. Price and John S. Phelps.

Senator Henderson and Representative Noell wrote to the President that they would endeavor to secure from the people of Missouri consideration of his plan. They did so. The policy became the issue in the campaign which followed. Of the nine Members of Congress elected by Missouri in November six were avowed emancipationists. The lower branch of the Legislature was emancipation and chose the emancipation candidate for speaker by a vote of sixty-seven to forty-two. Governor Gamble in his message advised the Legislature to take up the subject.

When Congress met in December for the short session the House appointed a select committee on gradual emancipation in the loyal slave-holding States. Frank P. Blair

was made the Missouri member of it. On the 10th of December Senator Henderson introduced in the Senate his bill to give Missouri $20,000,000 to pay for the slaves of loyal owners. The next day Noell put in his bill in the House, appropriating $10,000,000 to reimburse loyal owners of slaves in Missouri. Both bills passed by large majorities but the difference in the amounts made it necessary to compromise. The President did all he could to expedite the legislation. On the 10th of January he sent this telegram to General Curtis in command at St. Louis:

"I understand there is considerable trouble with the slaves in Missouri. Please do your best to keep peace on the question for two or three weeks, by which time we hope to do something here towards settling the question in Missouri."

"I do not remember," said Senator Henderson, "whether Mr. Lincoln drafted the bill or I got it up, but the inspiration came from him. I did all in my power to press it. The proposition went through the House and Senate, but it was passed in somewhat different forms. The Senate increased the amount, and this difference had to be adjusted in conference. There was a good majority for the Missouri bill in both branches of Congress and there was not much trouble about compromising the difference of opinions on the amount to be appropriated, but the session was almost at an end and a small minority in the House was able by filibustering and obstructing to prevent the final action there. If the bill could have been brought before the House in its finished form it would have passed finally as easy as it did in the Senate."

"President Lincoln watched the progress of the legislation with a great deal of interest, continued Senator Henderson. "He could not understand why the border States Members should not be for it. And I could not, either. It was perfectly plain to me that slavery had to go. Here was a voluntary offer on the part of the government to compensate the loyal men in the border States for the loss of their property. I talked with the members from Missouri and from Kentucky and with the others who were most interested, but I couldn't make them see it as I did. They had exaggerated ideas of the results which would ensue from a free negro population. They took the position that slavery must not be touched. It was their determined opposition to the end that deferred the bill to give the Missouri slave holders $20,000,000 for their slaves. If the Missouri bill had gone through the others would have followed undoubtedly and the loyal slaveholders in all of the border States would have received pay for their slaves."

President Lincoln and Senator Henderson were so confident the bill to disburse $20,000,000 for Missouri slaves would become law that some figuring was done on the amount which would be paid per capita.

"I recollect quite distinctly the calculations I made at the time," Senator Henderson said. "I found that the amount which the government would have distributed to Missourians under the terms of the bill finally agreed upon in conference would have given the loyal owners in my State $300 for each slave—man, woman and child. That I considered a pretty good price, for while we were legislating the emancipated proclamation had become assured, and it was very evident to my mind that slavery was doomed, even among those slaveholders who had remained loyal."

The record bears out Senator Henderson's recollections. The House passed Noell's bill by seventy-three to forty-six. The Senate accepted the compromise on the amount, which was $15,000,000 by a vote of twenty-three to fifteen. But the compromise was not reported until six days before the end of the session and a small minority in the House was able to prevent a vote on it. In this minority were three Missourians, William A. Hall, Elijah H. Norton and Thomas L. Price.

To have the courage of their convictions has ever been characteristic of Missourians sent to Congress. The three Missourians who fought the compensated abolishment bill to its death were honest. No one who reads the debate can doubt that. Elijah H. Norton, who represented the Platte district, was one of the leaders of the small opposition minority. He fought the measure from its introduction to the end of the session.

One point which Judge Norton made was that Missouri could not free her slaves without paying the owners the full equivalent for them. He said:

"According to the census of 1860, there were of slaves in Missouri, about 120,000. According to the report of the auditor of the State, founded upon returns made for the year 1862 by the assessors of forty-odd counties, there can not now be less than 100,000 slaves in the State. In my judgment not over 5,000 of them are subject to confiscation under the confiscation law, leaving

95,000 to be bought and paid for. Before the Legislature can emancipate them, they must first pay a full equivalent for them. Not an equivalent which Congress by an arbitrary legislative act fixes; not an equivalent which legislative enactment declares, but the worth, the value of the slave as ascertained from the market rate by a proceeding, not legislative but judicial in its character. I notice sales recently made in Howard County in the district of my colleague at $900; in other counties at from $600 to $700, for negro men. These figures and the former value of slaves lead me to conclude that the average value of slaves in the State would not fall below $450. Thus, sir, we have the price, being $450, and the number 95,000 to be bought. The value of these slaves would be $42,750,000. By this bill you place at the disposal of the Governor $20,000,000 of bonds; and if the Legislature, out of the state treasury, could also appropriate $22,750,000, then the Legislature could, in twelve months, pass a valid and constitutional law for the emancipation of slaves according to the terms of the bill. But, sir, this is impossible."

Judge Norton took the position that the general government had no authority to carry out the proposed plan of emancipation. He said:

"The citizens of Missouri are willing to acknowledge their proper and just allegiance to the government of the United States, but they have always held and hold to-day that under the obligations of that allegiance, fixed and defined by the Constitution of the United States, they are not required to give up their state rights and bow down in the dust like serfs and slaves to federal dictation, or the dictation of any one or more States of the Union. Missouri has rights as a State of the Union. Missouri has rights as a State of this Union which you dare not invade without disregarding your oaths and trampling in the dust the Constitution watered with the blood of your Revolutionary sires. You can not abolish our state courts, nor our Legislature; nor can you deprive us of two Senators or our proper number of Representatives upon this floor. You cannot make local laws for our local internal police government conflicting with the reserved rights of the State and the people. While you can not do any of these things, either directly or indirectly, neither can you by direction or indirection, as you propose by this bill, abolish slavery. That is as much their concern as is the election of their Legislature. The people of that State are a brave, magnanimous, patriotic and just-minded people; and whenever in the exercise of their virtues they determine that it is for their interest and to the interest of the State and country generally that the institution of slavery should be abolished in a legal

and constitutional mode, all citizens of the State will agree to their verdict and sanction their action. You do not propose to have it accomplished in this way, but are for stepping in and settling the matter at once."

In conclusion Judge Norton pictured the horrors as he foresaw them of a free negro population in Missouri:

"Under this bill you propose to turn adrift upon the people of the State 100,000 persons without a dollar, without homes or provision made for them to get homes, persons of all ages, sexes and conditions, the old and infirm, the halt, lame and blind, the young and defenseless, in one promiscuous mass. Is this humanity? Humanitarians on the other side of the House may answer. The original bill pledged the faith of this Government to take the emancipated slaves out of the State; the substitute adopted by the Senate, and now here for action, strikes this provision out, thus converting Missouri into a free negro State. You can not inflict a greater injury on Missouri than thus to fill up her communities with this kind of worthless population. A free negro population is the greatest curse to any country."

SCHOFIELD AND MISSOURI.

The first day of January, 1863, was one of the most momentous in the administration of President Lincoln. That day, after receiving the suggestions of his cabinet and after much consideration as to form and effect of what he was about to do, the President signed the Emancipation Proclamation. The next day he took up and, as he evidently supposed, solved a Missouri problem. This was the Pine Street Presbyterian church controversy. The Rev. Dr. McPheeters had baptized a little Missouri baby with the name of Sterling Price. This was one of the charges made against Dr. McPheeters by some members of his congregation who admitted his piety but questioned his loyalty. The charges were laid before the provost marshal. That functionary ordered the arrest of the divine and took charge of the church, relieving the trustees. The issue was carried to the White House, as was the custom, and the President, turning from weighty matters, wrote to General Curtis, commanding at St. Louis:

"The United States must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church, or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves."

Doubtless Mr. Lincoln thought he had laid down a broad principle that would relieve him of further appeals from either party to the Pine Street Presbyterian church differences. Dr. McPheeters was discharged from arrest. The President was immediately asked to restore to Dr. McPheeters his ecclesiastical rights. His reply was addressed to O. D. Filley, the head of the St. Louis Committee of Public Safety.

"I have never interfered," Mr. Lincoln wrote, "nor thought of interfering, as to who shall, or shall not, preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one to so interfere by my authority. If, after all, what is now sought is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any church, on any side."

Individual, as well as church and state problems in Missouri, were put up to Mr. Lincoln. On the 7th of January, the same week that the President had, as he thought, disposed of the Pine Street Presbyterian trouble, he received a message from B. Gratz Brown. The telegram was sent from Jefferson City. The Legislature had assembled. Mr. Brown was a candidate for the United States Senate. He was elected but not until after he had encountered some difficulties. He wired:

"Does the administration desire my defeat; if not, why are its appointees working to that end?"

President Lincoln replied promptly but in language that was diplomatic and perhaps somewhat cryptic:

"Yours of today just received. The administration takes no part between its friends in Missouri, of whom I, at least, consider you one, and I have never before had an

intimation that appointees there were interfering, or were inclined to interfere."

Charcoals and Claybanks the two factions of loyal Missourians were called. Mr. Lincoln tried to be neutral between them. In spirit, if not in so many words, his attitude was, "You all look alike to me." He would not take sides but occasionally he expressed himself vigorously on the unhappy family situation. In the spring of 1863 a Charcoal appeal was made to the President. Mr. Lincoln replied:

"In answer to the within question 'Shall we be sustained by you?' I have to answer that at the beginning of the Administration I appointed one whom I understood to be an editor of the 'Democrat' to be postmaster at St. Louis—the best office in my gift within Missouri. Soon after this, our friends at St. Louis must needs break into factions, the Democrat being, in my opinion, justly chargeable with a full share of the blame for it. I have stoutly tried to keep out of the quarrel, and so mean to do."

President Lincoln continued to preserve strict neutrality between the Missouri factions. Judge S. P. McCurdy, of this State, was a candidate for an appointment. The President, with his own hand, indorsed Judge McCurdy's application:

"This is a good recommendation for a territorial judgeship, embracing both sides in Missouri and many other respectable gentlemen.

A. Lincoln."

The President didn't believe in holding Missourians to strict account for what they might have said in the heat of oratory. Prince L. Hudgins, a lawyer quite well known in the war period, was charged with conspiring against the government. He wrote to President Lincoln explaining that the charge was based on a speech he had made in St. Joseph several months before the law under which he was being prosecuted was enacted. Congressman King went to the White House and recommended a pardon for Hudgins. The President wrote on the papers:

"Attorney General: Please see Mr. King and make out the pardon he asks. Give this man a fair deal if possible."

And then, perhaps after a little more conversation with the Missouri Congressman, Mr. Lincoln added this to his indorsement:

"Gov. King leaves Saturday evening and would want to have it with him to take along, if possible. Would wish it made out as soon as conveniently can be."

Grant, Sherman and Sheridan served in Missouri. These three generals, who afterwards were advanced to the highest military positions, saw their earliest war service in this State. President Lincoln came to have the greatest confidence in them. He placed his dependence upon them for ultimate success of the Union armies in the closing year. Who can tell in what measure the recognition of these three generals was in the end due to the intimate and anxious interest with which Mr. Lincoln followed those early developments in Missouri! The Secretary of War was of Pennsylvania. War department influences were eastern. "On to Richmond!" was the cry of the Atlantic seaboard. But President Lincoln, with his mind on the situation in Missouri, took a different view. He hardly waited until Price's army had left the State before setting in motion the Mississippi river campaign, starting from Missouri. He wanted to cut the Confederacy in two by way of the river and prevent food supplies from the southwest reaching the cotton States. Montgomery Blair, after the death of Mr. Lincoln, gave this among other reminiscences:

"One day in cabinet meeting, Lincoln turned to the Secretary of War and asked, 'Did we not receive a communication sometime last spring from a man named Grant out at Springfield, forwarded by Governor Yates, laying out a plan of campaign down the Mississippi?' The Secretary replied that he believed such a paper had been received. The President requested him to have it looked up, which was done, and it was read in cabinet meeting. It made a strong impression on all its members, Lincoln remarking that at the time it was received it had impressed him favorably, but in the multiplicity of cares it had been forgotten until now, when he had received a communication from Representative Washburne calling

attention to General Grant and suggesting that he be sent to Cairo. Lincoln then said, 'Mr. Secretary, send an order to General Fremont to put Grant in command of the district of Southeast Missouri.' "

Grant went to this new command, he moved to Cairo, took Paducah, fought the battle of Belmont, captured Fort Donelson. The movement down the Mississippi did not progress as loyal Missourians thought it should. Judge Samuel Treat of the federal court at St. Louis wrote to Judge Davis, presenting the importance of the Mississippi river campaign as it appeared to him. He received in reply a letter from President Lincoln, the original of which is preserved by the Missouri Historical Society:

Private. Executive Mansion,
Washington, Nov. 19, 1862.

Judge S. Treat,
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear sir:

Your very patriotic and judicious letter, addressed to Judge Davis, in relation to the Mississippi, has been left with me for perusal. You do not estimate the value of the object you press more highly than it is estimated here. It is now the object of particular attention. It has not been neglected, as you seem to think, because the West was divided into different military districts. The cause is much deeper. The country will not allow us to send our whole western force down the Mississippi, while the enemy sacks Louisville and Cincinnati. Probably it would be better if the country would allow this, but it will not. I confidently believed last September that we could end the war by allowing the enemy to go to Harrisburg and Philadelphia, only that we could not keep down mutiny, and utter demoralization among the Pennsylvanians. And this, though unhandy sometimes, is not at all strange. I presume if an army was starting to-day for New Orleans, and you confidently believed that St. Louis would be sacked in consequence, you would be in favor of stopping such army.

We are compelled to watch all these things.

With great respect
Your obt. servant,

A. Lincoln.

THE MISSOURI COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY.

After Fremont came in succession Hunter, Halleck, Curtis and Schofield as military commanders to deal with the confusing situation in Missouri. In 1862 there was issued by the general then commanding an order "to assess and collect without unnecessary delay the sum of $500,000 from the secessionists and southern sympathizers" of the city and county of St. Louis. The order stated that the money was to be "used in subsisting, clothing and arming the enrolled militia while in active service, and in providing for the support of the families of such militiamen and United States volunteers as may be destitute." The assessment was begun. Collections were enforced by the military. Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot, founder of Washington University, wrote a memorial that the assessment was "working evil in this community and doing great harm to the Union cause. Among our citizens are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is hatred in disguise, through all the grades of lukewarmness, 'sympathy' and hesitating zeal up to the full loyalty which your memorialists claim to possess. To assort and classify them, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the rates of payment by those falling below it is a task of great difficulty."

Reviewing the assessment as far as it had progressed, Dr. Eliot continued: "The natural consequence has been that many feel themselves aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to a suspicion of disloyalty; many escape assessment who, if any, deserve it; and a general feeling of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessments prevails. This was unavoidable for no two tribunals could agree upon the details of such an assessment either as to the persons or amounts to be assessed without more complete knowledge of facts than are to be attained from ex-parte testimony and current reports."

The memorial was sent to President Lincoln. Very promptly came the order from Washington:

"As there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order will be suspended."

But the assessment policy was continued in the interior of the State. One of the orders called for an assessment of $5,000 for every Union soldier or Union citizen killed and $1,000 for every Union soldier or Union citizen wounded by the bushwhackers or guerilla bands. The President wrote to General Curtis one of his friendly letters on the Missouri situation and suggested that he stop these assessments. General Curtis wrote at considerable length in reply. He told how the assessment policy had begun under the provost marshal system started by Fremont and continued by Halleck and by himself. He argued in favor of its continuance. Then by general order the President suspended these assessments in Missouri.

In March the quarrel between the factions had reached such a stage that the President relieved General Curtis. Missourians calling at the White House found in the President's welcome a note of weariness as he referred to his efforts to keep peace between the discordant elements. One of these visitors returning to St. Louis quoted the President as saying:

"The dissensions between Union men in Missouri are due solely to a factious spirit, which is exceedingly reprehensible. The two parties ought to have their heads knocked together."

The President appointed General Schofield to the command in Missouri and on the 27th of May wrote him this letter for guidance:

"Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the Department of Missouri, I think it may be some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves—General Curtis, perhaps not from choice, being the head of one faction, and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the

difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment and do right for the public interest.

"Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and to keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult role, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

Yours truly,

A Lincoln."

The Schofield letter became public,—"surreptitiously" the President subsequently explained. It prompted Governor Gamble to write, complaining of the reference to him as heading one of the parties to a "pestilent factional quarrel." Mr. Lincoln replied acknowledging the receipt of the letter and saying he had not read it and did not intend to read it.

On the last day of September, 1863, came a crisis in the relationship of Lincoln and Missouri. At nine o'clock in the morning, the President came into the great east room of the White House. Awaiting him were seventy "Radical Union men of Missouri." They had accepted that designation. They had been chosen at a mass convention,—"the largest mass convention ever held in the State," their credentials said. That convention had appointed these seventy Missourians to proceed to Washington and "to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri."

LINCOLN'S REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE.

This meant more than a state movement. It had taken on the voice of the radical anti-slavery elements of the whole country, speaking through Missouri. It demanded that President Lincoln now commit himself to universal abolition of slavery and to the general use of negro troops against the Confederate armies. It was the uprising of those who thought Mr. Lincoln's administration too mild. The President understood well what the coming of the delegation meant. One

who was there said that when Mr. Lincoln came into the room "he bore the appearance of being much depressed, as if the matters at issue in the conference which was impending were of great anxiety and trouble to him." The Missourians were realizing the national scope of their mission. On the way to Washington they had stopped at several places and had received enthusiastic encouragement from the abolitionists. They had been urged to stand firm on the platform that slavery by the loyal owners in the border States must be wiped out, and that without compensation. On their arrival in Washington the seventy had drawn up an address to the President and had put into it this declaration:

> We rejoice that in your proclamation of January 1, 1863, you laid the mighty hand of the nation upon that gigantic enemy of American liberty, and we and our constituents honor you for that wise and noble act. We and they hold that that proclamation did, in law, by its own force, liberate every slave in the region it covered; that it is irrevocable, and that from the moment of its issue the American people stood in an impregnable position before the world and the rebellion received its death blow. If you, Mr. President, felt that duty to your country demanded that you should unshackle the slaves of the rebel States in an hour, we see no earthly reason why the people of Missouri should not, from the same sense of duty, strike down with equal suddenness the traitorous and parricidal institution in their midst.

This was the essence of the Missouri movement which gave it national interest, which prompted the grand chorus of approval from the anti-slavery people of the North. It led to the series of indorsing ovations, concluding with the chief demonstration in Cooper Institute, New York City, where the seventy Missourians were welcomed by William Cullen Bryant.

There were events and conditions, apart from what was going on in Missouri, which added to the importance of this conference between Mr. Lincoln and the seventy. The week before the delegation started from St. Louis for Washington, that bloodiest battle, Chickamauga, was fought. The whole North was depressed by the narrow escape of Rosecrans' army. When the Missourians arrived in Washington,

Hooker's army was marching all night over the Long Bridge out of Virginia and into the capital to take trains for the roundabout journey to Chattanooga, that these troops might re-enforce those penned and save them from being forced north of the Tennessee by Bragg. Meade's failure to follow up the success at Gettysburg in July previous had given dissatisfaction. There was division in the cabinet over administration policies. The Presidential campaign would come on in a few months. Perhaps, at no other time since the beginning of the war had President Lincoln faced more discouraging criticism and hostile opinion. And now came these Missourians to add to the burden.

The address which the seventy had prepared was read to the President. For half an hour, the chairman, Charles D. Drake, read in a deep, sonorous voice, slowly and impressively. The origin and development of antagonism between the Gamble administration and the radical Union men was reviewed at length. The address charged Governor Gamble with the intention to preserve slavery in Missouri and asserted "the Radicals of Missouri desired and demanded the election of a new convention for the purpose of ridding the State of slavery immediately." It dwelt upon the "proslavery character" of Governor Gamble's policy and acts.

"From the antagonisms of the Radicals to such a policy," the address proceeded, "have arisen the conflicts which you, Mr. President, have been pleased heretofore to term a 'factional quarrel. With all respect we deny that the Radicals of Missouri have been, or are in any sense, a party to any such quarrel. We are no factionists; but men earnestly intent upon doing our part toward rescuing this great nation from the assaults which slavery is aiming at its life." This reference in the address was to the personal letter from the President to General Schofield.

The climax was reached when these "seventy radical Union men" submitted their request that Ben Butler, whose drastic measures toward the South were causing much talk, be sent to succeed Schofield:

We ask, further, Mr. President, that in the place of General Schofield a department commander be assigned to the Department of Missouri whose sympathies will be with Missouri's loyal and suffering people, and not with slavery and proslavery men. General Schofield has disappointed our just expectations by identifying himself with our state administration, and his policy as department commander has been, as we believe, shaped to conform to Governor Gamble's proslavery and conservative views. He has subordinated federal authority in Missouri to state rule. He has become a party to the enforcement of conscription into the state service. He has countenanced, if not sustained, the orders issued from the state headquarters, prohibiting enlistments from the enrolled militia into the volunteer service of the United States. Officers acting under him have arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned loyal citizens, without assigned cause, or for daring to censure Governor Gamble's policy and acts. Other such officers have ordered loyal men to be disarmed, and in some instances the order has been executed, while, under the pretense of preventing an invasion of Missouri from Kansas, notorious and avowed disloyalists have been armed. He has issued a military order prohibiting the liberty of speech and of the press. An officer in charge of negro recruits that had been enlisted under lawful authority, as we are informed and believe, was on the 20th inst. arrested in Missouri by Brigadier General Guitar, acting under General Schofield's orders, his commission, sidearms and recruits taken from him, and he imprisoned and sent out of the State. And, finally, we declare to you, Mr. President, that from the day of General Schofield's accession to the command of that department, matters have grown worse and worse in Missouri, till now they are in a more terrible condition than they have been at any time since the outbreak of the rebellion. This could not be if General Schofield had administered the affairs of that department with proper vigor and with a resolute purpose to sustain loyalty and suppress disloyalty. We, therefore, respectfully pray you to send another general to command that department; and, if we do not overstep the bounds of propriety, we ask that the commander sent there be Major General Benjamin F. Butler. We believe that his presence there would restore order and peace to Missouri in less than sixty days.

The closing paragraph of the address was calculated to impress Mr. Lincoln with the intensity of feeling prompting the delegation. Perhaps in the history of White House conferences such strong language was never before used by citizens to place personal responsibility upon a President:

Whether the loyal hearts of Missouri shall be crushed is for you to say. If you refuse our requests, we return to our homes only to witness, in consequence of that refusal, a more active and relentless persecution of Union men, and to feel that while Maryland can rejoice in the protection of the government of the Union, Missouri is still to be a victim of proslavery conservatism, which blasts wherever it reigns. Does Missouri deserve such a fate? What border slave State confronted the rebellion in its first spring as she did? Remember, we pray you, who it was that in May, 1861, captured Camp Jackson and saved the arsenal at St. Louis from the hands of traitors, and the Union cause in the Valley of the Mississippi from incalculable disaster. Remember the Home Guards, who sprung to arms in Missouri when the government was without troops or means to defend itself there. Remember the more than 50,000 volunteers that Missouri has sent forth to battle for the Union. Remember that, although always a slave State, her unconditional loyalty to the Union shines lustrously before the whole nation. Recall to memory these things, Mr. President, and let them exert their just influence upon your mind. We ask only justice and protection to our suffering people. If they are to suffer hereafter, as now, and in time past, the world will remember that they are not responsible for the gloomy page in Missouri's history, which may have to record the independent efforts of her harassed but still loyal men to defend themselves, their families and their homes against their disloyal and murderous assailants.

The names of the seventy were signed to this remarkable document. Charles D. Drake signed first, as chairman. He was afterwards a Senator from Missouri and still later was chief justice of the court of claims at Washington. Two Missouri Congressmen, Ben Loan and J. W. McClurg, the latter afterwards Governor, signed as vice-chairmen of the delegation. One of the secretaries was Emil Preetorius of the St. Louis Westliche Post. One of the seventy was Enos Clarke of Kirkwood. With some reluctance Mr. Clarke talked recently of this historic occasion, prefacing that it is difficult for those who did not live through those trying times in Missouri to appreciate the conditions which prevailed.

"The feeling over our grievances had become intense," he said. "We represented the extreme anti-slavery sentiment. We were the Republicans who had been in accord with Fremont's position on slavery. Both sides of the controversy had repeatedly presented their views to Mr. Lincoln, but this delegation of seventy

was the most imposing and most formal protest which had been made against the Gamble state government and against the national administration's policy in Missouri. The attention of the whole country, it seemed, had been drawn to this Missouri issue."

"Who was the author of the address, Mr. Clarke?"

"The address was the result of several meetings we held after we reached Washington. We were there nearly a week. Arriving on Saturday, we did not have our conference at the White House until Wednesday. Every day we met in Willard's Hall, on F street, and considered the address. Mr. Drake would read over a few paragraphs, and we would discuss them. At the close of the meeting Mr. Drake would say, 'I will call you together tomorrow to further consider this matter.' In that way the address progressed to the finish."

"Did the President seem to be much affected by the reading?"

"No. And at the conclusion he began to discuss the address in a manner that was very disappointing to us. He took up one phrase after another and talked about them without showing much interest. In fact, he seemed inclined to treat many of the matters contained in the paper as of little importance. The things which we had felt to be so serious Mr. Lincoln treated as really unworthy of much consideration. That was the tone in which he talked at first. He minimized what seemed to us most important."

"Did he indulge in any story or humorous comment?"

"No. There was nothing that seemed like levity at that stage of the conference. On the contrary, the President was almost impatient, as if he wished to get through with something disagreeable. When he had expressed the opinion that things were not so serious as we thought he began to ask questions, many of them. He elicited answers from different members of the delegation. He started argument, parrying some of the opinions expressed by us and advancing opinions contrary to the conclusions of our Committee of Seventy. This treatment of our grievances was carried so far that most of us felt a sense of deep chagrin. But after continuing in this line for some time the President's whole manner underwent change. It seemed as if he had been intent upon drawing us out. When satisfied that he fully understood us and had measured the strength of our purpose, the depth of our feeling, he took up the address as if new. He handled the various grievances in a most serious manner. He gave us the impression that he was disposed to regard them with as much concern as we did. After a while the conversation became colloquial between the President and the members of the delegation—more informal and more sympathetic. The change of tone made us feel that we were going to get consideration."

"Did the President make any reference to that part of the address about the 'factional quarrel?' "

"Yes, he did. And it was about the only thing he said that had a touch of humor in that long conversation. In the course of his reply to us he took up that grievance. 'Why,' he said, 'you are a long way behind the times in complaining of what I said upon that point. Governor Gamble was ahead of you. There came to me some time ago a letter complaining because I had said that he was a party to a factional quarrel, and I answered that letter without reading it.' The features of the president took on a whimsical look as he continued: 'Maybe you would like to know how I could answer it without reading it. Well, I'll tell you. My private secretary told me such a letter had been received and I sat down and wrote to Governor Gamble in about these words: 'I understand that a letter has been received from you complaining that I said you were a party to a factional quarrel in Missouri. I have not read that letter, and, what is more, I never will.' With that Mr. Lincoln dismissed our grievance about having been called parties to a factional quarrel. He left us to draw our own inference from what he said, as he had left Governor Gamble to construe the letter without help."

"Did the conference progress to satisfactory conclusions after the President's manner changed?"

"We did not receive specific promises, but I think we felt much better toward the close than we had felt in the first hour. The President spoke generally of his purposes rather than with reference to conditions in Missouri. Toward the close of the conference he went on to speak of his great office, of its burdens, of its responsibilities and duties. Among other things he said that in the administration of the government he wanted to be the President of the whole people and no section. He thought we, possibly, failed to comprehend the enormous stress that rested upon him. 'It is my ambition and desire,' he said with considerable feeling, 'to so administer the affairs of the government while I remain President that if at the end I shall have lost every other friend on earth I shall at least have one friend remaining and that one shall be down inside of me.' "

"How long did the conference continue?"

"Three hours. It was nearing noon when the President said what I have just quoted. That seemed to be the signal to end the conference. Mr. Drake stepped forward and addressing the President, who was standing, said, with deliberation and emphasis: 'The hour has come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention. Having submitted to you in a formal way a statement of our grievances, we will take leave of you, asking the privilege that each member of the delegation may take you by the hand. But, in taking leave of you, Mr. President, let me say to you many of these

gentlemen return to a border State filled with disloyal sentiment. If upon their return there the military policies of your administration shall subject them to risk of life in the defense of the government and their blood shall be shed—let me tell you, Mr. President, that their blood shall be upon your garments and not upon ours.' "

"How did the President receive that?"

"With great emotion. Tears trickled down his face, as we filed by shaking his hand."

In an old scrapbook kept by Enos Clark in the war and reconstruction period is preserved the reply of Mr. Lincoln to the "seventy radical Union men of Missouri." On the evening of the day that the seventy were at the White House they were given a reception by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase. This was considered significant. At that time there was much talk of Chase for the Presidential nomination by the radical opposition to Mr. Lincoln. The Secretary was alleged to be intriguing for the nomination.

From Washington the seventy Missourians went to New York City to be honored by the anti-slavery people at a great mass meeting in Cooper Institute. Charles P. Johnson was the orator chosen by the Missourians to reply to the welcome.

On the 5th of October, only five days after he received the Missourians, the President sent his reply. There are few letters by Mr. Lincoln as long as this one on the Missouri situation. The analysis of causes and conditions in this State, when the war was half over, has no equal in print. It showed complete comprehension of the troubles and suggested common sense remedies. It is a revelation of Mr. Lincoln's clear vision in the midst of the most conflicting and confusing reports. This letter, in its entirety, deserves prominent place in the war period of the history of Missouri:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 5, 1863.

Hon. Charles D. Drake and others, Committee:

Gentlemen: Your original address, presented on the 30th ultimo, and the four supplementary ones presented on the 3rd instant, have been carefully considered. I hope you will regard the other duties claiming my attention, together with the great length and importance of these documents, as constituting a suffi-

cient apology for my not having responded sooner. These papers, framed for a common object, consist of things demanded, and the reasons for demanding them. The things demanded are—

First. That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed as commander of the Military Department of Missouri;

Second. That the system of Enrolled Militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces substituted for it, and

Third. That at elections, persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

Among the reasons given, enough of suffering and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose, truly stated. Yet the whole case presented fails to convince me that General Schofield, or the Enrolled Militia, is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable, and, I think, a more rational hypothesis.

We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question, but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus those who are for the Union with but not without slavery; those for it without but not with; those for it with or without but prefer it with; those for it with or without but prefer it without. Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for gradual but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery.

It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures, deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges and murders for pelf proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general.

The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show the evils now complained of were as prevalent under Fremont,

Hunter, Halleck and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized army left the State, the main federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home, relatively, no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence, that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

The first specific charge against General Schofield is, that the Enrolled Militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact I believe is true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive how that did, or could injure loyal men, or the Union cause.

You charge that upon General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A. Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as provost marshal general. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however, the conditions of things, as presented to me, which led to a change of commander for that department.

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes had been introduced, I think, by General Fremont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels to compensate losses, and relieve destitution, caused by the rebellion. The action of General Fremont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of a system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear; but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great Prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability; and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most, and most readily for them; and would seize property, and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be, and was plausibly, charged to exist in a greater extent than it did.

When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other

ignored the evils and magnified the necessity; and each bitterly assailed the motives of the other.

I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

Plainly the irritating system was not to be perpetual, and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse, and whether it could be made better could only be determined by trial. In this view, and not to ban or brand General Curtis, or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department. I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer, or other consequences of the change.

I gave the new commander no instructions as to the administration of the system mentioned, beyond what is contained in the private letter, afterwards surreptiously published, in which I directed him to act solely for the public good, and independently of both parties. Neither anything you have presented me, nor anything I have otherwise learned, has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is passed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind, that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John Morgan, and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chose to incur the personal hazard, and possessed the fiendish heart to do it.

The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden, or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning, I, therefore, approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people, and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of; but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that

those facts occurred in accordance with the purpose of General Schofield.

With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him to a suitable command.

In order to meet some existing evils, I have addressed a letter of instruction to General Schofield, a copy of which I enclose to you. As to the Enrolled Militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain better than I now know, what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national force for the Enrolled Militia implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and, if so, the proposition to throw that force away, and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed, seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be drawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans?

Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feeling, as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the Enrolled Militia then have been broken up, and General Heron kept from Grant, to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri, and allows it to serve elsewhere.

I, therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the Enrolled Militia of Missouri. I may add, that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation with regard to the habeas corpus.

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it well. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody.

The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise, and I do not question their rights. I hold whoever commands in Missouri, or elsewhere, responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but,

at last, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln enclosed in this long letter to the committee a copy of the instructions to General Schofield as the result of the address of the Missourians.

(Copy.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Oct. 1, 1863.

General John M. Schofield:

There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the general government now in Missouri; and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things, both there and elsewhere, is such as to render it indispensable to maintain, for a time, the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it, as far as practicable, to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone.

Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals, and suppress assemblies or newspapers, when they may be working palpable injury (Mr. Lincoln underscored the word palpable) to the military in your charge; and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form, or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness and forbearance.

With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties en masse, and of removing certain individuals from time to time, who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your discretion.

Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following: Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves, or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes; and so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the Enrolled Militia of the State. Allow no one to enlist colored troops, except upon orders from you, or from here through you. Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property,

under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

At elections, see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote, who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion.

So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders and murderers, and all who are known to harbor or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service, because under pretence of doing this they become marauders and murderers themselves.

To now restore peace, let the military obey orders; and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

LINCOLN'S SECOND NOMINATION AND HIS RECONSTRUCTION POLICY.

At this time Frank Blair was fighting Missouri Confederates in the field and Missouri "Jacobins," as he called them, in Congress. In the House Mr. Blair, on the 24th of February, 1864, arraigned Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, demanding an investigation. He charged Mr. Chase with intriguing to defeat Mr. Lincoln for a second term. He charged that the Radicals of Missouri, the Jacobins, were in the plot to prevent Mr. Lincoln's renomination. He defended the President's border States policy:

"Things have occurred in Missouri and the other border States not so easily understood by those who come from happier regions, unvisited by the calamities of war. In Missouri, at the outbreak of the war, and for a long time afterwards, the State was a prey to the worst disorders, the country was ravaged and destroyed, and a feeling of bitterness has been engendered which is almost without parallel. Upon this spirit of exasperation, retaliation and revenge the Radicals of my State have undertaken to build up a party. Is this a fit foundation for any party to rest upon? Can peace, prosperity and tranquility be expected from those who act upon such motives? Can any secure or enduring principles of government

be based upon such sentiments? It may be and it is impossible for men to free themselves from the passion of revenge, and the desire for retaliation on those who may have inflicted injuries on them or on their friends and neighbors. It may be utterly impossible to expect that men can free themselves entirely from such influences. But, on the other hand, is it natural, proper, or wise that the President and the great statesmen who are directing the affairs of the government, and whose duty it is to educe peace and good will out of these scenes of anarchy and disorder, should be actuated by the feelings of bitterness which have grown up among the parties to this strife. Such passions are in some degree excusable in those who have suffered injury; but with what face does a man set himself up as a statesman or party leader, who will fan such passions; who will contribute to the public exasperation; who will rekindle these smouldering fires; and who seeks even to drag into them and destroy the Chief Magistrate of the country, when he declines to be the instrument of such malignant passions. Yet this is the position of the Jacobin leaders of Missouri and their confederate Jacobins in Maryland. They appeal to the Union men of other States to support them in their strife in States in which the rebellion has been put down, instead of fighting to put down the rebellion where it still exists. They appeal to the Union men of other States against the President's policy of amnesty, by which the armies of the rebels are being demoralized and depleted, because they desire to glut their vengeance and their lust for spoils. They seek to make a direct issue with the President, to defeat his re-election, in order that they may enjoy the license of another French Revolution under some chief as malignant as themselves."

As early as 1864 there was talk of the reconstruction measures when the war was over. Some were advocating that the freedmen be given the ballot and be armed in large numbers that the franchise might be secured to them. Mr. Blair referred to these propositions. "Can any American citizen find in his heart to inaugurate such a contest?" Mr. Blair asked. And then he outlined the position of the President:

"I prefer Mr. Lincoln's humane, wise, and benevolent policy to secure the peace and happiness of both races; and until that can be accomplished, and while both races are being prepared for this great change, I shall repose in perfect confidence in the promise of the President given in his last message, in which he proposes to remit the control of the freedmen to the restored States, promising to support any provisions which may be adopted by such state

government in relation to the freed people of such State which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless and homeless class.' "

Mr. Blair was right in his forecast of the purpose of the Jacobins to defeat the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. Very shortly after he made the speech in Congress, a call was issued for a national convention to meet in Cleveland in May. Radical Union men of Missouri were active in the movement. Blair's cousin, B. Gratz Brown, was one of the signers of the call. That convention was attended by 350 delegates who did not believe Mr. Lincoln was aggressive enough. Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist, and Fred Douglass, the negro orator, made speeches. Three planks in the very radical platform were:

"That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.

"That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

"That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice."

The convention nominated General John C. Fremont for President and General John Cochrane for Vice-President. The candidates withdrew in September.

Missourians did all they could to prevent the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. They not only sent a delegation to the Cleveland convention which nominated Fremont but they sent two delegations to the Baltimore convention which renominated Lincoln. The call for the Baltimore convention omitted the name Republican. It designated the assemblage as the "Union National Convention." The two sets of delegates from Missouri to this Baltimore convention contested for the seats with as much vigor as if the nomination depended upon which set got in. It was a foregone

conclusion that Mr. Lincoln would be renominated. He had all of the delegates except those from Missouri. The committee on credentials urged the two delegations from Missouri to patch up their differences and go into the convention with half representation each. The Missourians wouldn't have it so. One delegation was headed by John F. Hume, and had credentials from a Republican state convention. The other set was headed by Congressman Thomas L. Price and had been selected at a meeting held in St. Louis. The convention finally decided that the Hume delegates made the best showing in credentials and seated them.

When Missouri was reached in the call of the roll of States for the Presidential nomination, Mr. Hume got up and said:

"It is a matter of regret that we now differ from the convention which has been so kind to the Radicals of Missouri; but we came here instructed. We represent those who are behind us at home, and we recognize the right of instruction, and we intend to obey our instruction. But in doing so we declare emphatically that we are with the Union party of this nation, and we intend to fight the battle through with it, and assist in carrying its banner to victory in the end, and we will support your nominees, be they whom they may. I will read the resolution adopted by the convention which sent us here:

" 'That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of Missouri, who have been, and are now baring their breasts to the storm of battle for the preservation of our free institutions. That we hail them as the practical radicals of the nation whose arguments are invincible, and whose policy for putting down the rebellion is first in importance and effectiveness.'

"Mr. President, in the spirit of that resolution, I cast the twenty-two votes of Missouri for the man who stands at the head of the fighting radicals of the nation, Ulysses S. Grant."

McClurg and Widdicombe were members of the Hume delegation. They represented the Jefferson City district.

Widdicombe was from Boonville. His connection with the Republican party dated back to 1861 when there were only nine Radicals, as they were called, in Boonville, and the nine stumbled up stairs in the dark and met by the light of a tallow candle in a third-story room. In 1887 Mr. Widdicombe gave the writer this account of the part the Missourians took in the Baltimore convention:

"We had caucused and agreed upon our programme but not a word was allowed to slip about it. Lincoln's name was the only one formally presented to the convention, and as the roll was called each State announced its vote for him amid much enthusiasm. At length Missouri was reached. John F. Hume got up and with a few words cast the vote of Missouri for U. S. Grant. Such a storm of disapproval was never started in any convention that I ever attended. Delegates and lookers-on howled and howled. I can remember how I felt. I think my hair stood right up on end. After Hume announced the vote he sat down, and there we were, as solemn and determined as men could look, with the mob all around us demanding that the vote should be changed. I hadn't any doubt for a few moments but what we would be picked up, every man of us, and thrown out into the street.

"Finally, old Jim Lane, of Kansas, got the attention of the convention," continued Mr. Widdicombe. "I suppose they quieted down out of curiosity to know what sort of a fate he would propose for us. Lane went on to say that we were neighbors of his. We had come to the convention with proper credentials, and had been admitted as delegates. That being the case, we had a right to vote for whom we pleased, and it was not Republicanism to try to prevent us. This coming from Jim Lane and Kansas had a good effect. As soon as he sat down Gov. Stone, of Iowa, another good Republican State, jumped up. He was a man more like Sam Cox than anybody I ever saw. He said we were neighbors of his, too, and he didn't like to see us treated that way. He urged the convention to show fair play.

"That partially quieted the storm," Mr. Widdicombe went on, "and the roll call proceeded, but with some grumbling. The last State was reached, and announced its vote as all the others had done, except ours, for Lincoln. Then Mr. Hume got up, before any declaration of the result could be made, and stated that Missouri wished to change her vote from Grant to Lincoln and to move that Mr. Lincoln's nomination be made unanimous. By that time the convention saw what we were up to, and how everybody did shout! After the convention adjourned our delegation came over to Washington and marched up to the White House headed by Gen. John

B. Henderson, who was then in the Senate. Gen. Henderson presented us and Mr. Lincoln got off some funny remarks about our course in the convention. But after we went back home we never had any further occasion to complain about the control of the federal patronage in Missouri so long as Mr. Lincoln lived."

What were Mr. Lincoln's views respecting the future of the freedmen? What was his plan of reconstruction? Was Frank Blair as accurate in his statement of Mr. Lincoln's policy in those directions as he was in his forecast of the purposes of the Radicals? In the collection of Lincoln papers, possessed by William K. Bixby of St. Louis, is the original letter of the President upon the restoration of state government in Arkansas. It was addressed to General Steele, at Little Rock. It was written in the winter of 1864, not far distant from the time Frank Blair outlined the President's policy toward the States which had seceded. Residents of Arkansas petitioned for authority to hold an election and to set up a state government which would be recognized at Washington. Mr. Lincoln, in his own hand, wrote to General Steele, in charge of the military division which included Arkansas. He gave explicit instructions. He stipulated that the new state government must come into existence with the full recognition of the principle embraced in what afterwards became the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. That there might be no misunderstanding Mr. Lincoln copied into his letter the language of the condition upon which the new state government was to be recognized. The letter illustrated the earnest desire of Mr. Lincoln to rehabilitate state governments in the Confederacy. Thus, more than twelve months before the final surrender, the President laid the foundation for restoration of civil authority in Arkansas. Restoration was the word, not reconstruction. The letter concluded:

"You will please order an election immediately and perform the other parts assigned you with necessary incidentals, all according to the foregoing."

In his own words, written by himself, the President expressed his purpose to make the way for the Confederate States to get back into the Union simple and expeditious.

The thirteenth amendment submission bill did not pass the Senate until the 8th of April, 1864. It did not obtain the necessary two-thirds in the House until the next session of Congress. It was ratified by thirty-one States and proclaimed in force in December, 1865. And yet nearly two years before, Mr. Lincoln incorporated the language with his own hand as the principal condition of the creation of a new state government for Arkansas. The language made no stipulation as to negro suffrage. It only required that Arkansas organize with a provision against slavery in these words:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, but the General Assembly may make such provision for the freed-people as shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless and homeless class."

This was Mr. Lincoln's policy of state restoration. The other conditions imposed upon the Southern States, of which negro suffrage was chief, came after the death of the President.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Jan. 20, 1864.

Major General Steele:

Sundry citizens of the State of Arkansas petition me that an election may be held in that State; that it be assumed at said election, and thenceforward, that the constitution and laws of the State, as before the rebellion, are in full force, excepting that the constitution is so modified as to declare that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; but the General Assembly may make such provision for the freed-people as shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class;" ever also except that all now existing laws in re-

lation to slaves are inoperative and void; that said election be held on the twenty-eighth day of March next at all the usual voting places of the State, or all such as voters may attend for that purpose; that the voters attending at each place, at eight o'clock in the morning of said day, may choose judges and clerks of election for that place; that all persons qualified by said constitution and laws, and taking the oath prescribed in the President's proclamation of December the 8th, 1863, either before or at the election, and none others, may be voters provided that persons having the qualifications aforesaid, and being in the volunteer military service of the United States, may vote once wherever they may be at voting places; that each set of judges and clerks may make return directly to you, on or before the eleventh day of April next; that in all other respects said election may be conducted according to said modified constitution, and laws; that, on receipt of said returns, you count said votes, and that, if the number shall reach, or exceed, five thousand four hundred and six, you canvass said votes and ascertain who shall thereby appear to have been elected Governor; and that on the eighteenth day of April next, the person so appearing to have been elected, and appearing before you at Little Rock, to have, by you, administered to him an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and said modified constitution of the State of Arkansas, and actually taking said oath, be by you declared qualified, and be enjoined to immediately enter upon the duties of the office of Governor of said State; and that you thereupon declare the constitution of the State of Arkansas to have been modified and assumed as aforesaid, by the action of the people as aforesaid.

You will please order an election immediately, and perform the other parts assigned you, with necessary incidentals, all according to the foregoing.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

The original of this letter is entirely in the handwriting of Mr. Lincoln. Painstaking is not the word that applies to Mr. Lincoln's writing. The pen or pencil moved over the page easily, naturally, readily. That is apparent from the style of writing. Even stronger evidence is found in the volume of written matter which Mr. Lincoln turned out. From the beginning of his career as a lawyer down through the busiest days in the White House, Mr. Lincoln wrote and wrote. There are in existence letters and papers of his penmanship in greater number, probably than any other President

wrote. The letters number thousands. Many of them bear evidence that they were not answers and need not have been written, and would not have been written by one to whom writing was irksome, or in any sense a task. Mr. Lincoln liked to write so well that he seldom dictated anything.

In the extensive and varied collection of Lincoln writings owned by Mr. Bixby are many interesting revelations of this strong penmanship habit of Mr. Lincoln. Whether in letter, law paper or state document, the composition was simple and closely condensed. But this did not mean that Mr. Lincoln wished to get through as quickly as possible. It indicated the habit of mind. There are few letters of Mr. Lincoln which exceed a page. The longest writing in the Bixby collection is the letter to General Steele setting forth the complete plan of restoration of civil government for Arkansas. It is of nearly four pages and written on one side of the paper. The date is significant, taken in connection with Blair's speech in Congress. The President dated his letter on the 24th of January. Blair spoke on the 24th of February.

LINCOLN, MISSOURI AND MEXICO.

When it was evident that the Confederacy was doomed, President Lincoln gave thought to the future of the Missourians who had gone with the South. He realized that there were numbers of these who had cut the ties of home and kindred. With the surrender, many Confederates, especially from Missouri and other border States, would feel that they were men without a country. Houses had been burned. Farms had been laid waste. Property had been confiscated. Emancipation had wrought chaos in labor relations which might require years for adjustment. These conditions, which would confront the soldiers returning to the border States, were dangerous. They might lead to feuds without number and much bloodshed. Mr. Lincoln talked with his advisers about this situation. He consulted with Frank Blair.

Across the Rio Grande there was revolution. European governments, taking advantage of the Civil War in the United States, were attempting to set up an empire. The United States had protested through diplomatic channels against this violation of the Monroe doctrine. Under Juarez the republican elements of Mexico were fighting against Maximilian, but they were with difficulty holding the northern part of their country. The closing act of Mr. Lincoln's cherished border states policy was to turn the western Confederates toward Mexico as soon as their own cause was lost. And, as on the former occasions noted, Mr. Lincoln looked to Missouri to work out this policy.

Francis P. Blair and Joseph O. Shelby were cousins. Early in 1861, when Blair knew that war was inevitable, he sent for Shelby, who was living in Lafayette county, to come to St. Louis. He exerted all of his powers of persuasion to induce Shelby to remain with the Union. On the strength of his close relations with Mr. Lincoln, Blair assured Shelby of a good commission in the army. Shelby, however, had made up his mind to go with the South.

With the war nearing the end, President Lincoln made Blair the medium of his communication to the western Confederates and Blair communicated the plan to Shelby. Not only was no obstacle to be thrown in the way of Confederates marching to Mexico but tacit encouragement was to be given. Moreover it was to be understood that federal soldiers who had not had enough of the adventures of war might join the Confederates, cross the Rio Grande, join Juarez and help work out the salvation of Mexico.

Shelby led an expedition to Mexico and was not interfered with. But the plan as President Lincoln conceived it was not carried through. In 1877 there was much newspaper talk about an invasion of Mexico by Americans. Affairs in that country had become unsettled. Reports were spread that Americans were organizing under strong leadership to go into Mexico with the view of settling there and insuring stability of government and lasting peace. General Shelby's name was much mentioned as a possible leader in the move-

ment. He was living on his farm in Missouri. Some expression from him was wanted by the northern and eastern newspapers. Through the influence of Major John N. Edwards, who had been on Shelby's staff in the war, the much desired interview was obtained. General Shelby with emphasis put an end of the use of his name in connection with the proposed movement. And then he told of Mr. Lincoln's plan for the western Confederates: He said:

"Through General Frank P. Blair I had received, long before the killing of Lincoln, some important information. It was to the effect that in the downfall of the Confederacy and the overthrow of the Confederates of the east, the Confederates of the west would be permitted to march into Mexico, drive out the French, fraternize with the Mexicans, look around them to see what they could see, occupy and possess land, keep their eyes fixed steadfastly upon the future, and understand from the beginning that the future would have to take care of itself. In addition, every disbanded federal soldier in the trans-Mississippi department, who desired service of the kind I have indicated, would have been permitted to cross over to the Confederates with his arms and ammunition. Fifty thousand of these were eager to enlist in such an expedition. On my march south from San Antonio to Piedras Negras I received no less than 200 messages and communications from representative Federal officers begging me to wait for them beyond the Rio Grande."

"Do you mean to say, General, that President Lincoln was in favor of the movement you have outlined?"

"I do mean to say so most emphatically. I could show nothing official for my assertion, but I had such assurances as satisfied me, and other officers of either army had such assurances as satisfied them. There was empire in it, and a final and practical settlement of this whole Mexican question."

"Why did the scheme fail?"

"I will tell you why. Before marching into the interior of Mexico from Piedras Negras, a little town on the Rio Grande opposite Eagle Pass, I called my officers and men about me and stated to them briefly the case. Governor Blesca, the Juarez governor of Coahuila, was in Piedras Negras. I had sold him cannon, muskets, ammunition, revolvers, sabres,—munitions of war which I had brought out of Texas in quantities,—and had divided the proceeds per capita among my men, Governor Blesca offered me the military possession of New Leon and Coahuila, a major generalship, and absolute authority to recruit a corps of 50,000 Americans. All these things I told my followers. Then I

laid a scheme before them and mapped out for the future a programme which had for a granite basis, as it were, that one irrevocable idea of empire. But to my surprise and almost despair nearly the entire expeditionary force were resolute and aggressive imperialists. I could not move them from the idea of fighting for Maximilian. They hated Juarez, they said, and they hated his cause. Maximilian had been the friend of the South; so had the French; so had Louis Napoleon. They would not lift a hand against the inperial government. I did not argue with my soldiers. They had been faithful to me beyond everything I had ever known of devotion, and so I said to them, 'You have made your resolve, so be it!' "

There is strongly corroborative proof of General Shelby's statement that the western Confederates were to be allowed to march away to Mexico. When Lee surrendered, the trans-Mississippi army numbered about 50,000 men. The commander was Kirby Smith. The officers held a council at Marshall, Texas, and decided to march to Mexico. Kirby Smith was to resign and Buckner was to command. But Smith declined to resign and Buckner didn't want to go. Division after division was called to Shreveport and disarmed. Shelby called for volunteers and led 1,000 men to Mexico. At the close of the Civil war, Sheridan was hurried to the Mexican border. Juarez was given moral and material support from the United States side. The French were warned away; Maximilian was defeated, captured, condemned to death and executed on the hill of Queretaro.

THE FAREWELL MESSAGE TO MISSOURI.

Not two months before his death, fifty-one days before the surrender of Lee, President Lincoln sent to Missouri what was to be his farewell message. The letter was dated the latter part of February, 1865. The Missouri Constitutional convention had abolished slavery. The delegates were preparing that ill-advised, proscriptive, short-lived organic act, with its test oaths which were to create turmoil for a generation in the State, which passed into history as the Drake constitution. Mr. Lincoln wrote, entreating Governor Fletcher to get together the contending factions and to harmonize the people irrespective of what they had "thought, said, or done

about the war or about anything else." He even suggested a plan of detail by which he believed this might be accomplished. The Hon. Benjamin B. Cahoon, Sr., of Fredericktown, lifelong student of Lincoln who stopped and sympathized with him as he lay wounded after Gettysburg, has said of this farewell message to Missouri:

"In no document of Lincoln's is his kindness and humanity better exhibited. It can be classed with his first and second Inaugural addresses and his Gettysburg oration."

A fitting conclusion to this narrative of Lincoln and Missouri is this letter of the President to Governor Fletcher:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 20, 1865.

His Excellency, Governor Fletcher:

It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It cannot be but that every man, not naturally a robber or cutthroat, would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so they only need to reach an understanding one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Cannot this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said, or done about the war or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friendships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help. Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri.

Yours Truly,

A. LINCOLN.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.
September, October, November, 1915.

Adair County. *Kirksville Democrat* (Daily)
Sept. 15. Reminiscences of 50 years ago in Kirksville.
Sept. 23. Some incidents in the life of Quantrill, famous guerrilla chieftain.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*
Sept. 17. Sketch of the life of Julius A. Sanders, pioneer, county official and Civil War veteran.

Atchison County. Rock Port, *Atchison County Journal*
Sept. 2. Birth of the Journal—A series of excellent historical articles on Atchison county, by John D. Dopf, founder of the *Journal*. See also later issues.
——— ——— *Atchison County Mail*
Oct. 1. Sketch of the life of J. F. Hurn, Atchison county pioneer and Missouri Civil War veteran.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Intelligencer* (Weekly)
Sept. 9. Fox Hunters Tell of Old Favorites' Former Prowess. Sketch of history of Santa Fe, Missouri.
Oct. 14. Sketch of the life of A. G. Turner, Audrain county pioneer and Confederate veteran.
——— ——— *Ledger* (Weekly)
Nov. 25. List of Mexico's Ex-Confederates who have died in that city since the Civil War.

Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Record*
Nov. 13. Sketch of the life of Hon. Thomas L. Harper, Missouri pioneer and legislator.

Benton County. Warsaw, *Times*
Sept. 16. Sketch of the life of Creede Ingram, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*
Sept. 13. An episode of the war, by Mrs. Jennie Gibbins. See also later issues containing reminiscences of different early residents.
Oct. 1. Reminiscences. Account of a trip from Kentucky to Missouri in pioneer days. A series of excellent historical articles on pioneer Missouri and Boone county, by Mrs. (Dr.) A. F. Sneed, deceased. See prior and later issues.
——— Columbia, *Times*
Oct. 5. Resume of Missouri history—Missouri Day Address by E. W. Stephens.
Oct. 17. Recollections of early days in Missouri, by Col. R. B. Price, Sr.
——— ——— *Tribune*
Sept. 25. Pioneer days along the Booneslick Road.
Oct. 13. History of the Stephens Publishing Company.
Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of Col. John C. Moore, of Excelsior Springs, Civil War veteran and one of the founders of the Kansas City *Times*.
——— ——— *University Missourian*
Sept. 8. History of Boone County newspapers.
Sept. 26. The University of Missouri 45 years ago—diagram and historical sketch.

Sept. 26. Sketch of the life of J. W. Stone, Civil War veteran and Mississippi River pilot.
Oct. 14. Reminiscences of the seventies at the University of Missouri.
Oct. 22. How the rich cement beds at Hannibal were discovered in 1853.
Nov. 8. Recollections of Columbia in the 60's, by Prof. French Strother.
Nov. 22. Some Missouri Folk-Lore.
Nov. 29. Some Columbia postoffice history. First U. S. postmistress in Columbia, 1838.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*
Sept. 4. Historical sketch of Huffman Memorial Church and its founder, Rev. Samuel Huffman.
Oct. 24. Historical sketch of Nave-McCard Mercantile company founded in 1841. Some incidents in early day merchandising with pictures of founders and first stone building in Savannah.
Oct. 31. Historical sketch of Tootle-Campbell Dry Goods Company. Early days in Buchanan county, by Alice Mary Kimball.
Nov. 28. Historical sketch of St. Joseph Railway, Light, Heat and Power Company, with picture of old horse car of former days.

———— ———— *News Press*
Sept. 16 and 17. Proceedings of Missouri Press Association with pictures and sketches of leading editors.
Oct. 29. Recollections of Civil War times in Missouri, by Capt. F. M. Posegate.
Nov. 30. Sketch of the life of Louis Fuelling, St. Joseph pioneer merchant of the Pikes Peak immigration days.

Callaway County. Mokane, *Missourian*
Aug. 20. Historical sketch of Little Bonne Femme Baptist Association, by Dr. W. H. Burnham

Camden County. Linn Creek, *Reveille*
Oct. 1. Sketch of the life of O. A. Nelson, county office holder and member of the General Assembly.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Republican-Record*
Sept. 23. Sketch of the life of John I. Wilcoxson, pioneer and Missouri confederate veteran.
Oct. 21. Sketch of the life of Hon. Russell M. Kneisley, lawyer and legislator.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*
Sept. 9. Sketch of the life of Judge John C. Brown.
Nov. 25. Sketch of the life of Francis Marion Willett, Missouri pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Cass County. Pleasant Hill, *Times*
Oct. 8. The Early Days.—Reminiscences of the Long Ago at Old Lone Jack.
Oct. 22. List and age of old settlers in Cass county.

Cedar County. Stockton, *Journal*
Nov. 18. Sketch of the life of Alfred Rickman, Civil War veteran.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
Sept. 3. Memoirs. Diary of Dr. J. H. P. Baker on Price's Raid in 1864. See also former and later issues.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*
Sept. 17. Early Clark County Sunday-school history, by I. Gilhousen.
Oct. 22. Excellent address on pioneer Clark county, delivered at Old Settlers Meeting, Oct. 6, 1915, by J. W. Murphy.

———— ———— *Gazette-Herald*
Oct. 29. Some Fifty Years Ago, by James A. Jenkins.

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Standard*
Sept. 27. An Old Railroad.—Article on the Missouri Pacific.
Nov. 1. Sketch of the life of Thomas Duncan, Missouri pioneer and Civil War veteran.
Nov. 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas L. Hope, one of the founders of Excelsior Springs, Mo.
Nov. 25. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Smith, Missouri pioneer and veteran of the Mexican War under Col. Doniphan.
———— Liberty, *Advance*
Sept. 3. Sketch of the life of O'Fallon Dougherty, Missouri pioneer.
———— ———— *Tribune*
Sept. 3. Politics in the Old Days in Missouri, by Robt. J. Clark.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Vedette*
Oct. 21. When Guerrillas Sacked the Town of Melville, by Col. J. W. Carmack.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Oct. 24. The Burning of Melville.—A Civil War incident.
Nov. 24. Sketch of the life of John L. Holland, pioneer merchant of Springfield.
———— ———— *Republican* (Daily)
Sept. 29. St. Louis as it appeared in 1829.
Oct. 3. History and roster of sixth Missouri cavalry.
Oct. 26. Some incidents in the life of Cole Younger, as related by an old friend "Dad" Holliday.
Nov. 11. Some historic spots in Greene County.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Republican*
Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of Capt. Wm. Brantner, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper*
Oct. 21. Historical sketch of first Presbyterian Church in Bethany.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*
Sept. 17. The Steamboat Graveyard. Historical article on Missouri River.
Sept. 24. Historical sketch of William R. Russell, first white child born in Holt county.
Nov. 26. History of the Oregon Postoffice.

Howard County. Glasgow, *Missourian*
Nov. 4. Sketch of the life of Russel Bigelow Copies, noted Missouri pioneer, prominent lawyer and citizen, and Confederate veteran.

Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel*
Sept. 2. Historical sketch of the *Sentinel*.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Journal*
Nov. 16. Sketch of the life of J. S. Botsford, Kansas City lawyer and U. S. District Attorney for Western Missouri under President Grant.
Nov. 28. Portrait of Milton J. Payne, early Kansas City mayor, presented to Missouri Valley Historical Society. Some early day history.
Nov. 28. Story of the Loring expedition from St. Louis to Oregon and the military occupation of the Pacific Northwest, 1849. By Albert R. Greene.

——— ——— *Star*

Sept. 19. Marriage record of Daniel Boone, oldest son of famous pioneer.
Sept. 21. Historical sketch of Emery, Bird, Thayer Company, organized in 1853.—Picture of early business house.
Sept. 24. When the first railroad train pulled out of Kansas City, Sept. 25, 1865.
Oct. 6. An Independence Landmark. Picture and historical sketch of Presbyterian church built 1852.
Oct. 10. Historical account of the railroad bond case which has been hanging over Henry county nearly half a century.
Oct. 24. Recollections of the James boys by Jim Cummins.
Oct. 24. The Blue man of Spring Creek. Some Ozark traditions.
Oct. 31. Old mill on Indian Creek near Kansas City built in 1830.
Oct. 31. Missouri in 1805. From account written by Anthony Soulard, U. S. Surveyor.
Nov. 7. The man who bluffed Frank James.—A Civil War incident.
Nov. 16. D. A. R. Memorial for Thomas H. Benton with a picture of the tablet erected in Kansas City.

——— ——— *Sun*

Sept. 18. Beginning of a series of articles on the history of negro Masonry in Missouri, by Joseph E. Herriford, P. M.

——— ——— *Times*

Sept. 27. When Kansas City celebrated the coming of the first steam locomotive.
Nov. 9. Sketch of the life of W. J. Smith, builder of first cable street car line in Kansas City.
Nov. 9. Historical sketch of the old "Chick Mansion" an early day landmark of Kansas City.

Jasper County. Joplin, *News-Herald*

Sketch of the life of Charles Schifferdecker, Joplin millionaire philanthropist.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Rustic*

Nov. 18. Sketch of the life of James M. Dotson, Missouri pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*

Oct. 22. Sketch of the life of Capt. A. E. Asbury, Missouri pioneer and Confederate veteran.

——— Odessa, *Democrat*

Nov. 19. Sketch of the life of Edward Evers, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Lewis County. Canton, *News*

Sketch of the life of Stephen J. Poole, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*

Sept. 4. In the Early Sixties.—A series of historical articles on Linn county. See later issues.
Oct. 2. The Later Thirties.—Same.
Oct. 16. Fifties and Sixties.—Sketch of Laclede, Missouri.
Oct. 23. Sketch of the life of Capt. John Lomax.

——— Linneus, *Bulletin*

Nov. 18. Early Days in the County of Linn, by Judge John A. Nickell. (From *Marceline Journal-Mirror.*)

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Tribune* (Daily)

Sept. 2. Reminiscences of opining of Missouri River bridge at Kansas City, 1869.
Sept. 4. Pioneer days along Grand River by Rev. C. O. Ransford.

Macon County. Macon, *Times-Democrat*

Oct 7. Monuments for Warriors.—Sketch of the lives of Henry Lynch and James Howell, Revolutionary soldiers and Macon county pioneers.

Oct. 28. Excellent five part historical, industrial and illustrated souvenir number on Macon county.

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*

Oct. 28. Account of dedicatory ceremonies upon erection of monument to former Congressman William H. Hatch.

Oct. 28. Historical sketch of St. John Episcopal Church in Monroe City, established 1855.

Nov. 9. Sketch of the life of Dr. J. N. Coons of Palmyra, oldest physician in Marion county and descendant of Daniel Boone.

———— Palmyra, *Spectator*

Sept. 22. The First Pony Express.—Account of the Pony Express riders.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *News* (semi-weekly)

Oct. 1. The celebrated Centralia Fight, by W. C. Todd.

———— Paris, *Monroe County Appeal*

Sept. 12. Last of the James Gang, interview with Cummins by A. B. MacD.

Nodaway County. Hopkins, *Journal*

Sept. 16. The Building of an Empire, historical sketch of early Nodaway, Gentry and Worth counties, by James M. Pierce.

———— Maryville, *Democrat-Forum*

Oct. 7. Sketch of the late Sante Fe Trail, by Mrs. Charles Bell.

Osage County. Linn, *Republican*

Nov. 11. Old Days Recalled, reminiscences of Osage county by E. Hopkins. See also later issues.

Pettis County. Sedalia, *Capital*

Nov. 6. Sketch of the life of John D. Stark, former state senator from Cooper county.

Pulaski County. Richland, *Mirror*

Oct. 29. History of the Richland Methodist Church, by Ed. Lingsweiler.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record*

Oct. 1. The Double Log Cabin, a story of pioneer days in Missouri by Joe Burnett.

———— Perry, *Enterprise*

Nov. 11. List of persons seventy years old and over with biographical sketches, by W. R. Poage.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator*

Sept. 2. Trip across the plains in 1859, by Robt. J. Clark.

Sept. 9. Men who were early pioneers of Ray county, by Cora Ellis Steele.

Nov. 18. First Jury in Ray County Circuit Court empaneled in 1821.

Nov. 25. Sketches of Ray county history, by speakers at opening of new Court House.

———— ———— *Missourian*

Nov. 25. Sketches of Ray county history, by speakers at opening of the new Court House.

———— ———— *News*

Nov. 22. Early Day Circuit Judges, by Judge G. W. Dum.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News*

Oct. 7. Reprint of a diary of a trip from Virginia to Missouri in 1829, by Wm. M. Campbell. Rare and valuable.

Nov. 4. Descriptive sketch of the unveiling ceremonies at grave of Daniel Boone.

———— ———— *Cosmos-Monitor*

Sept. 15. Reprint of marriage record of Daniel Morgan Boone, eldest son of Daniel Boone.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal*

Sept. 30. History of the first Presbyterian Church of Appleton City, by Rev. J. G. West.

———— Lowry City, *Independent*

Sept. 2. Autobiographical sketch of the life of Rev. R. D. Lawler, prominent pioneer.

Sept. 16. Pioneer methods of wheat threshing, by Hez Bowman.

St. Francois County. Farmington, *Times*

Sept. 24. Historical and descriptive edition of St. Francois county. Valuable.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*

Oct. 1. Kirkwood Centennial Celebration.—Some reminiscences of early days.

Oct. 11, 12. Sketch of the life of D. M. Houser, president of Globe-Democrat.

Nov. 23. Sketch of the life of Michael McEnnis, Mexican war veteran and first graduate of St. Louis University.

———— *Republic*

Sept. 5. Early days in Randolph County.—Related by old settlers at Huntsville Old Settlers Reunion, by Love and Chapin.

Sept. 22. Sketch of Father David S. Phelan, editor of Western Watchman and pioneer in religious journalism.

Oct. 31. Who is Patience Worth? Developments in the famous psychological mystery in St. Louis, by Love and Chapin.

Nov. 7. Experience of Allie Stuart, St. Louis woman who became volunteer Civil War nurse and attended Gen. Lyon after the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

Nov. 21. Webb City mining district. Some history of zinc mining in Missouri. By Love and Chapin.

———— *Times.*

Nov. 2. Sketch of the life of E. L. Preetorius, founder of St. Louis Times.

St. Louis County. Clayton, *Watchman-Advocate*

Oct. 1. Sketch of the early German settlers in the *Grasois* and Des Peres settlements, by Rev. S. Kruse. See also later issues on church history in Missouri.

———— Kirkwood *Courier*

Nov. 27. Sketch of the life of Michael McEnnis, Missouri pioneer and Mexican War veteran.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News* (Weekly)

Oct. 21. Sketch of "Pleasant Grove," historic estate west of Marshall.

Nov. 4. Sketch of the "Washington-Lewis Place," historic house near Marshall.

———— ———— *Saline County Progress* (Weekly)

Sept. 3. Historical sketches of Saline county, by Dr. Chastain. See prior and later issues.

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[illegible] Civil War veteran.

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[illegible] by W. D. Tittle.

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[illegible] by George C. Bryan.
[illegible] events at the unveiling ceremonies [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] Missouri Civil War veteran.

[illegible]
[illegible] Missouri Confederate veteran.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

The History of St. Louis County, Missouri, (2 vols.) by William L. Thomas, of Maplewood, Mo., has recently been donated to the Society by the author. Although published in 1911 the Review has not had opportunity before to make note of this work. Subject to correction, we believe this is the first history published devoted mainly to the present county of St. Louis. A number of valuable works on St. Louis city have appeared such as Billon, Scharf and Stevens, which, while necessarily treating of the country of St. Louis, naturally placed emphasis on the story of the Fourth City. The present county of St. Louis is one of the five oldest counties in the State. In 1877 the city of St. Louis, by virtue of provisions in the present Missouri constitution of 1875, assumed a new political status and became independent in all its governmental affairs from the county of St. Louis. Thus the history of St. Louis county down to 1877 includes the history of the city of St. Louis.

Owing, however, to the commanding importance of the city, it has been the custom of most historians to honor the city and slight the county. We are glad that Mr. Thomas has tried to change this habit and, waiving the question of merit in this new publication, this new purpose of the author is commendable. In this connection we cannot but observe that there exists a strong tendency among modern writers to feature the big things of the present and to pass over in silence the guiding factors of the past. The history of St. Louis city is preserved in a score of books, that of the present county in one; Kansas City is the theme of many writers, the history of Independence—as important if not more interesting historically—is only casually mentioned; Macon City thrives on its present and past achievements, Bloomington—once its stronger rival—is only a memory; St. Joseph is known in books through all the Missouri Valley, Weston—the formerly thriving river port and hemp market—is hardly

Sullivan County. Milan, *Republican*
Sept. 16. Sketch of the life of Rev. J. S. Todd, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Taney County. Forsyth, *Taney County Republican*
Sept. 30. A story of the Civil War in Taney county, by W. D. Titteworth.

———————— Branson, *White River Leader*
Oct. 1. Stories of the Pioneers. See prior and later issues.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*
Sept. 3. Article on Daniel Boone's grave, by George C. Bryan.
Nov. 5. The Boone Monument, article on the unveiling ceremonies and speeches.

Wayne County. Greenville, *Sun*
Nov. 8. Sketch of the life of H. Y. Mabrey, Missouri Civil War veteran.

Wright County. Hartville, *Democrat*
Nov. 25. Sketch of the life of James J. Prophet, Missouri Confederate veteran.

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known to the majority of Missourians; Moberly is the present metropolis and center of interest in Randolph county, Clark maintains its former importance in scanty newspaper articles.

Many of the towns of yesterday made the history of the counties of today. The county that ignores this fact, the historian who passes it by with little thought, and the people who permit such neglect, do well to reflect on the injustice and unfairness countenanced. The foundation of history is so obviously and so frequently built on the first few, on the primitive customs, on the small towns of yesterday, that it seems almost needless to urge the importance of these things. Not only does true history demand consideration of these small beginnings but we need this knowledge for our own vision. No man knows Missouri's present who is ignorant of her past; no man can pass correct judgment on her statesmen of the twentieth century who knows nothing of her leaders during the last hundred years; and no man can fairly appraise her towns and counties of today who has not read the story of her towns and counties of yesterday. We are, therefore, especially inclined to commend this work on the history of St. Louis county by Mr. Thomas. Volume one is devoted to an account of the county, including a number of interesting articles; the second volume is given over to biographical sketches of persons living in the county. The volumes are nicely bound in three quarters morocco and the press work is of a good quality.

* * * * *

City of Osage. During the second quarter of the last century many towns were laid out, lots sold and glowing predictions made for the future. The State Historical Society of Missouri has a pamphlet about one of these published by James Lusk, the State printer at Jefferson City. The pamphlet, by Josiah Murfel, contains a statement of an interesting fact about the many promised cities of that period, and yet so few of the lithographs mentioned have been preserved: "Not a bar-room in the most unpretending

hotel, throughout the entire north and west, but could a short time since have exhibited its score of more of splendid lithographed cities—beautiful (on paper) to look upon, but if you had taken a personal survey, you would have found the majestic oak and ash, the sycamore and maple, in all their native wildness, adorning the street, squares and avenues, and the denizens of nature their only inhabitants."

Of Osage City the prediction was made that it would not result as so many others did, but was destined, "as we believe, at no very distant day, to constitute another Pittsburg," "and Osage may bid defiance to the sneers and attempted witticisms, which, at its expense, have heretofore served to enliven certain dull Gazeteers, and the washy columns of certain duller newspapers." The firms of Raccoon, Opossum & Co., had been expelled and the author did not know whether they had gone to Oregon or Texas. The city was where the Osage river debouched into the Missouri ten miles below the State capital, in the midst of "a fertile and densely populated country, immediately on the new state road leading from the city of Jefferson to St. Louis, via Hermann, and which will soon become the principal medium of travel, as well for the mail stages as for private conveyance, between these two points." The location "seems to have been marked out by the hand of nature as the destined seat of a great commercial city." In the year 1817 a city was laid out at this point, and lots to a large amount sold, but it was then found that the parties selling the lots had no title to the land.

The competition of other points on the river was disposed of readily: "the contiguity of this point to Jefferson City—the capitol of the State (it being but ten miles distant) may induce the impression that Osage must yield to the latter place. This will most assuredly not be the case. Not only is Jefferson *above* the mouth of the Osage, but its commercial importance, even at this time, without any rival ship on the part of the Osage, is scarcely that of an ordinary western village. Boonville, at present a flourishing commercial town, 60 miles above, on the Missouri, might present no mean

rival, were it probable that the trade of the Osage would travel 60 miles up stream and in a direct line *from the seaboard.* On the other hand, however, it may be safely predicted, that as soon as capital and the facilities which it will afford in the purchase of the produce of this country, and in supplying the necessary articles of merchandise required by the people, shall have become permanently located at this point; it will divert hither a large and valuable trade, now enjoyed by Boonville, and at present carried on for the most part over land, at an average distance of 100 miles." "The great mass of the inhabitants of this valley, being what is usually styled "*small* farmers," whose crops will range from two to five hogsheads of tobacco, or from two to five tons of hemp, they will not be backward to discover that between this place and St. Louis there is a difference in the time of travel of at least *six days*, with a proportionate expense; hence so long as they can find a ready market for their produce, and can obtain their supplies on fair and reasonable terms at this point, there is no doubt but that it will be the place of their trade.

"So far as rivalship may be anticipated from the Osage, it may be remarked that it is a fact perfectly known to every person acquainted with the Osage river, that between Warsaw, 175 miles above the mouth of this river, and this point is no point at which can arise anything like a commercial city. There may be, as doubtless there will be, numerous manufacturing villages throughout the whole extent of the country, and for which Osage will be the general place of deposit and trade."

The pamphlet of eighteen pages has many facts in regard to the fruitfulness of the Osage valley, and to its mineral resources. A collection of the lithographed maps mentioned would make an interesting exhibit, and the statements made in the pamphlet publication indicate various facts that have been forgotten in the changed conditions of the later years.

F. A. Sampson.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM MISSOURI AUTHORS.

History of St. Louis County, Missouri, by William L. Thomas. 2 vols. St. Louis; the S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1911.

Memorial Diamond Jubilee; German Evangelical Synod of North America. By Ewald Kockritz. St. Louis; Eden Publishing House. [1915]

Injuries to Interstate Employees On Railroads. By Maurice G. Roberts. Chicago; Callaghan and Company. 1915.

Memorial Sketches of Pioneers and Early Residents of Southeast Missouri. By Louis Houck. Cape Girardeau; Naeter Bros. 1915.

Seventy-five Years On The Border. By James Williams. Kansas City; Standard Printing Company. 1912.

The Awakening of the Desert. By Julius C. Birge. Boston; The Gorham Press. n. d.

The Social Problem. By Charles A. Ellwood. New York; The Macmillan Company. 1915.

Blind Boone. By Melissa Fuell. Kansas City; Burton Publishing Co. 1915.

Poems. By Frances E. Moore. Kansas City, Mo.; Smith-Grieves Company. 1915.

The Law of War Between Beligerents. By Percy Bordwell. Callaghan & Co. 1908.

The Making of An American's Library. By Arthur E. Bostwick. Boston; Little, Brown and Company. 1915.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS.

The article by Mr. Walter B. Stevens in this number of the *Review* was read by the author at the Annual Dinner of the Society on December 10, 1915. The value and interest attached to Mr. Steven's *Lincoln and Missouri* make it one of the most important papers that have been published on Missouri history. The author is so well known to Missourians that he needs no introduction to the history reading public of the State. He has achieved success as an editor and author. His works on Missouri history are many, and in the field of St. Louis history he stands today as that city's foremost historian.

Lincoln and Missouri is one of the best balanced, most valuable and interesting monographs that has come from the pen of this writer. The work involved in its preparation would alone commend it, while its arrangement of material and manner of presentation puts it in that class of fascinating historical writings that were so perfected by that brilliant Missourian, John N. Edwards. Mr. Stevens has consulted not only the standard and official publications, but has gathered his material from many invaluable Lincoln and related manuscripts in the W. K. Bixby and the Illinois Historical Society collections, from miscellaneous letters preserved by individuals, from the files of old Missouri newspapers, and from the lips of those who lived and made history in Missouri during the great struggle in the sixties. With such a wealth of source material collected with much industry and skill and in some cases, diplomacy, Mr. Stevens wove into one piece the story of *Lincoln and Missouri.* Most of the facts related were known as isolated events although much new material was set forth, but few if any had a clear vision of the whole narrative, and none had attempted to tell the tale before. To Mr. Stevens are we indebted for presenting in such complete and fascinating manner the entire story.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

The Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri and the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society were held in the Society's rooms in the new Library Building on December 10, 1915. A number of prominent men from over the State were present and a pleasant and interesting afternoon was spent. The important business transacted was the reading of the report of the Society's Treasurer and of the Secretary, the election of twelve Trustees, and the adoption of a Centennial Resolution. The Secretary reported that the present membership of the Society totaled 1,045, divided into two honorary, four ex-officio, twelve corresponding, six hundred and seven annual editorial members, and three hundred and ninety annual pay members. During the eleven months ending December 1, 1915, the Society added 4,000 titles to its Library; of which 2,192 were classified as books, and 1,808 as pamphlets. The total number of titles in the Library is now 44,000; classified as 28,737 books, and 15,263 pamphlets. The total present stock of the library is now about 44,000 separate titles, and over 116,000 duplicates.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of three years ending 1918: Wm. C. Breckenridge, St. Louis; W. R. Painter, Carrollton; George A. Mahan, Hannibal; H. S. Sturgis, Neosho; H. C. McDougal, Kansas City; Jonas Viles, Columbia; R. M. White, Mexico; Walter Williams, Columbia; E. M. Violette, Kirksville. Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, was elected a Trustee to 1916 to fill the unexpired term of the late W. R. Nelson, who died April 13, 1915. Boyd Dudley, of Gallatin, was elected a Trustee to 1917 to fill the unexpired term of Alexander M. Dockery, who resigned November 30, 1914. J. E. MacKesson, of Lebanon, was elected a Trustee to 1917 to fill the unexpired term of the late Hon. John E. Organ, who died August 10, 1915.

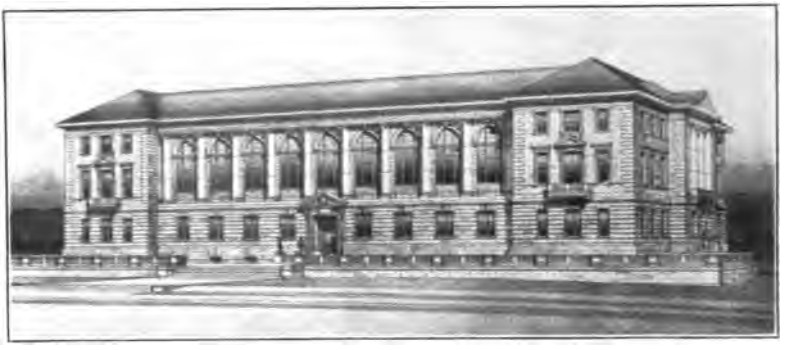
H. S. Sturgis, of Neosho, was elected Third Vice President of the Society to fill the unexpired term of W. R. Nelson of Kansas City.

Boyd Dudley, of Gallatin, was the author of Centennial Resolution, which was unanimously adopted. It reads as follows:

> Resolved, That the President of the State Historical Society of Missouri appoint a committee of five persons which committee shall appoint a larger committee, representative of the vocations, indistries and institutions of the people of the State, under whose direction arrangements shall be made for the celebration of the Centennial of the State of Missouri. It is further resolved that the members of the first committee be members of the larger committee, and that the Governor of the State of Missouri be requested to serve as the Honorary Chairman of the latter committee.

Remarks were made by Walter B. Stevens, of St. Louis, E. W. Stephens, of Columbia, and Jewell Mayes, of Richmond. The Centennial Resolution was the chief topic of discussion and all heartily approved its purpose. That Missouri should celebrate the Centennial of the State and that plans should be made at once to ensure the success due to Missouri's history and present greatness are truths obvious to all. The Society is to be commended in not having waited longer to take the responsibility for this great work. Indiana is planning to celebrate her Centennial next year, and Illinois has been planning hers in 1918 for several years. It is well that Missourians will have adequate time to perfect arrangements for appropriately commemorating her Centennial.

After the Annual Meeting of the Society the members and their friends were conducted through the New Library Building. As the Society's quarters in its new home were described in the last issue of the Review, we refer to that



The New Library Building—Property of the University of Missouri. Home of The State Historical Society of Missouri.

The building was erected for the joint use of The State Historical Society of Missouri and the University of Missouri Library. The Historical Society has its offices and reading room on the first floor to the left of the front entrance. Four basement rooms and a double story stackroom contain the Society's 160,000 books, pamphlets and Missouri newspapers. The building faces north. The main part alone has been completed. When the two wings are added, the cost of the building, exclusive of stacks, shelving, furniture and the site, will be five hundred thousand dollars.

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publication. A cut of the New Library Building appears on the page opposite.

At 6 P. M., the Annual Dinner of the Society was given, there being nearly fifty present. The speaking lasted until eleven o'clock and an enjoyable and sociable evening was spent. The speakers on the program were: R. M. White, of Mexico, Mo., *President of the State Historical Society of Missouri;* Rev. W. W. Elwang, of Columbia, Mo., *Invocation;* Boyd Dudley, of Gallatin, Mo., *Toastmaster;* Walter B. Stevens, of St. Louis, Mo., Address on *Lincoln and Missouri;* Wm. Southem, Jr., of Independence, Mo., *Past President of the State Historical Society of Missouri,* who spoke on *Independence and Jackson County;* John T. Sturgis, of Springfield, Mo., *Presiding Judge of the Springfield Court of Appeals,* who made a plea for a limitation of the United States to its present boundaries; and Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, *Author,* who spoke on *The Great Men of Gallatin, Missouri.* Brief remarks were also made by Lieutenant Governor W. R. Painter, of Carrollton, and Dean Walter Williams, of Columbia, and a telegram in verse from Purd B. Wright, of Kansas City, Mo., who was prevented from coming to the dinner, was read by Mr. Dudley.

PERSONAL.

CAPT. A. E. ASBURY, Missouri pioneer and Confederate veteran, died at his home in Higginsville, Mo., on October 19, 1915. Capt. Asbury was born in Prunytown, Va., (now West Virginia) August 16, 1836. He attended Virginia and Alleghany College, Meadville, Pa., and in 1857 followed his father to Missouri. He read law under Hon. C. T. Garner and Maj. M. Oliver and in 1859 was admitted to the bar in Houston, Texas county, Missouri. In May, 1861, Capt. Asbury was a delegate to the secession convention at Jefferson City and was active in the Confederate ranks from 1861 to June 20, 1865. The war record of Capt. Asbury was preserved in a remarkably valuable and interesting book entitled "My Experiences in the War 1861 to 1865, or a Little Autobiography," by A. Edgar Asbury. (Published in 1894).

A copy of this rare and realistic book is in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Capt. Asbury was a leading citizen of Lafayette county, Mo., being a banker, capitalist, mine owner and for years a director in the Kansas City and Chicago, now the C. & A., railroad.

* * * * *

Judge JOHN C. BROWN, editor, lawyer, and jurist, died in St. Louis, on September 4, 1915. Judge Brown was born in Carter county, Missouri, March 22nd, 1860. His early life was spent upon the farm. When about seventeen years of age, he came to Van Buren, Mo., and edited the *Times*, now the *Current Local* of that town. He later engaged in the real estate business and was also justice of the peace, deputy circuit clerk, and recorder of deeds. He was admitted to the bar in October, 1888, and was elected prosecuting attorney of Carter county the following month. In 1890 he located at Willow Springs, Mo., and engaged in the practice of law. Having filled several public offices, he was appointed on the Revision Commission for the State in 1909. At the November election in 1910, he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri for ten years.

The high regard in which Judge Brown was held throughout the State reveals his character. He was a son of the Ozark hills; his early education was limited to the common schools; his industry alone enabled him to succeed. As one of his friends said: "He was the same John Brown at the plow; at the printer's case; at the bar; and on the bench. His life should be a splendid example to any young man, as it shows what one can accomplish if he has only the energy and the perseverance to lead forward."

* * * * *

HON. FRANCIS MARION COCKRELL, lawyer, soldier and United States Senator from Missouri, died in Washington, D. C., on December 13, 1915. Born in Johnson county, Missouri, on October 1, 1834, he was reared on a farm, and received part of his education at Chapel Hill College, in Lafayette county, Missouri, where he graduated in 1853. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1855, and began

the practice of his profession at Warrensburg. At the outbreak of the Civil War he espoused the Southern cause, was soon elected a captain, and rose through the ranks of lieutenant colonel and colonel to brigadier general. He saw service in Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. In March, 1866, full amnesty was granted to General Cockrell and he returned to Warrensburg and took up his practice. His associate was the late former Gov. T. T. Crittenden, but his ambition soon led him into politics. In 1872 he became a candidate for governor and was defeated in the Democratic State convention by Silas S. Woodson by one-sixth of a vote. He made such an earnest campaign for his successful rival that, in 1874, he was chosen United States Senator to succeed Carl Schurz. He served the State and Nation as United States Senator for thirty years, from 1875 to 1905. In the latter year a Republican Legislature, after a factional deadlock, elected William Warner to succeed him. President Roosevelt's comment on this change was that the people of Missouri had lost a faithful servant, but that the government would not lose him, and he appointed Cockrell a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He served on this commission until 1910, and later served as a commissioner to re-establish the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, and as a civilian member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortifications.

The fame of Senator Francis Marion Cockrell and his place in Missouri history rests on his record as a soldier and a statesman. Although his military record does not equal that of either Alexander W. Doniphan or General Sterling Price, nor his civil record compare either in brilliance of oratory to that of Missouri's "Little Senator," George Graham Vest, or in views of statesmanship to those of Thomas H. Benton, Francis Marion Cockrell was one of the most admired men Missouri has sent to the Halls of Congress, was one of the most respected men by both Democrats and Republicans, and was one of the most beloved statesmen in Washington, D. C. His public record was clean; his acts as a soldier and senator were untarnished by a single base motive

or cowardly deed. Bravery, discipline and efficiency made "Cockrell's Brigade" of Missourians known throughout the Southland. Unselfishness, integrity, and industry endeared Cockrell to Missourians on the field and forum. When defeated for the Democratic nomination for Governor by only one-sixth of a vote, it is said that while the cheering for his successful opponent was at its height Cockrell sent his wide, broadbrimmed hat flying to the top of the convention hall. "What are you throwing up your hat for?" one of his supporters asked. "No man can support the nominee of the Democrat party more heartily than I," replied Cockrell.

It was such words as these, indicative of the man's heart and mind, that made Francis Marion Cockrell beloved by thousands of political friends and foes, and idolized by Missourians. The word of Cockrell was doubted by none. Although on the minority side in the Senate the reports from his committee were generally accepted and favorably acted upon by his opponents. The greatest confidence was reposed in his integrity and industry. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Dec. 14, 1915, in an editorial said in part: "Clean-handed and clean-hearted he had, for nearly a generation in the Senate, held himself free from all attaint. – – – He never failed to use every bit of strength he had to do a proper service for any constituent, regardless of politics. Often he arose from a sick bed to help out a constituent, merely because he came from Missouri. Gentle, simple and hospitable he was beloved by all. His Republican colleagues would do him any personal favor he asked. Even his eccentricities became adorable and Missourians yet unborn will be told stories about Senator Cockrell and his cobpipe and linen duster." The St. Louis *Republic* of December 14, 1915, in an editorial also said in part: "One striking fact which runs through all this record is the confidence which his personality inspired in other men. He became a Captain without military experience. He became a United States Senator without having held any civil office. An uncompromising Democrat, he held positions of trust and honor

under two Republican administrations. – – – When Champ Clark nominated him for the presidency in the convention held in St. Louis in 1904, William Jennings Bryan seconded the nomination and declared before the convention that he would be willing to give Senator Cockrell the nomination and let him write his own platform. The confidence which was reposed in him in so many and such varied relations was never violated. He died as he had lived, a fearless, patriotic, honest man."

* * * * *

JUDGE JAMES S. BOTSFORD, Civil War veteran and oldest Kansas City attorney, died November 15th. Born on a farm in Wankesha county, Wis., in 1844, Mr. Botsford gained his education from the rural schools and from the high school at Lisbon, Ill. After the war, in which he served with distinction, he continued his study of the law and was admitted to practice by the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1866. The same year he removed to Sedalia, Mo., where in 1871 he was appointed by President Grant as United States attorney for the Eastern district of Missouri. As United States attorney Judge Botsford won considerable distinction in the prosecution of the famous "Whiskey Ring" in St. Louis. In 1898 he was the Republican candidate for judge of the Supreme court of Missouri but was defeated. Since the removal of his law office to Kansas City, Judge Botsford has for twelve years been a lecturer on equity jurisprudence in the Kansas City School of Law.

* * * * *

HON. THOMAS H. HARPER, a Bates county official and representative died at his home in Butler, Mo., Nov. 11, 1915. Born in Edinburg, Scotland, Sept. 19, 1847, Mr. Harper came to this country with his parents in 1850 and grew to manhood in St. Clair county, Illinois, and Cole county, Missouri. He settled on a farm in Bates county, Mo., in 1881, and was elected county clerk in 1886. He represented Bates county in the Missouri General Assembly from 1901 to 1904.

DANIEL M. HOUSER, publisher of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, died at his home in St. Louis, October 10th. Born in 1834 of Maryland-German stock, Mr. Houser came to St. Louis when twelve years of age and after a few years spent in the public schools of that city began in the office of the old *St. Louis Union* a career in the business side of journalism which was to continue without interruption for nearly sixty years. As one of the founders of the *Globe-Democrat* and as active manager of the paper since its beginning, Mr. Houser's name will always be associated with that list of other names including Joseph McCullough, Walter B. Stevens, and Capt. Henry King, who made the history of the *Globe-Democrat* a particularly brilliant one.

* * * * *

HON. RUSSELL M. KNEISLEY, lawyer and legislator, died at his home in Carrollton, Mo., October 15, 1915. Mr. Kneisley was born in Palmyra, Mo., April 9, 1868, and came to Carrollton with his parents in 1869. His education was received in the public schools. In 1891 he devoted his energies to athletics and in 1892 organized the Western League baseball team of St. Joseph. He was admitted to the bar in Carrollton in 1894 and formed a partnership with Virgil Conkling and later with William G. Busby. Mr. Kneisley represented Carroll county in the General Assembly in 1898 and served on several important committees. He was a prominent politician in the Democratic party, a forceful speaker and a good lawyer.

* * * * *

COL. JOHN C. MOORE, Confederate soldier, editor and historian, died at the home of his son in Excelsior Springs, October 27. Born August 18, 1831, in Pulaski county, Tenn., he came to St. Louis as a boy and received his early education there. After leaving college Col. Moore crossed the plains and located in Denver, where he became the first mayor of that city. With a partner he established the *Rocky Mountain News*, one of the influential papers of the West. When the Civil War broke out he recrossed the plains

on horseback and joined a Confederate battery, serving successively as captain on Gen. Marmaduke's staff, as judge advocate of Arkansas, and as colonel under Gen. Joe Shelby. Since his return from Mexico after the overthrow of Maximilian, Col. Moore devoted his time to newspaper work and the writing of history. He was one of the founders and first editors of the *Kansas City Times*, and later of the *Pueblo* (Colo.) *Press*.

* * * * *

HON. OWEN A. NELSON, merchant, county official, and legislator, died in Lebanon, Mo., Sept. 29. Mr. Nelson was born in Posey county, Indiana, August 29, 1854, and came to Camden county, Missouri, in 1868. He was reared on a farm and received only a moderate education in the public schools. He served Camden county four years as county treasurer, eight years as county clerk and two years as representative in the General Assembly. Mr. Nelson was a man of painstaking industry and of sterling honesty.

* * * * *

DR. CYRUS ASBURY PETERSON died at his home in Webster Groves, Missouri, November 19th, 1915. Born in North Carolina and coming to Missouri at the early age of twelve years, he was a resident of this State for the better part of his life. His father settled in that portion of Southeast Missouri where partisan feeling ran highest and was bitterest at the outset of the Civil War. At his most impressionable age, young Peterson came in contact with influences which affected his whole after life, and the recollection of these times was graven deep on his memory. That memory was tenacious, it clung to the smallest details, and things he saw, heard or read in early life became with him a fixed record. His life up to shortly after the age of fifteen years is best told in his own words. The writer of this short sketch had often importuned him to make a record of his recollections, so at length in 1905 he began work on them; but invalidism came upon him shortly thereafter and he never felt the inclination to complete his "Autobiographical Sketch." It is therefore but a fragment—a very valuable

one though, for it deals with his impressions as a youth, when the storm of clouds were gathering round Old Glory. He ends his sketch with an account of his part in the defense of Cape Girardeau against an attack upon it by Gen. John S. Marmaduke with a division of Confederate Cavalry. His father, of whose safety he had started out on a trip to assure himself, later found him armed with a musket, guarding a bridge. Young Peterson's part in the war was but a minor one but full of excitement and danger, for that portion of Missouri in which he lived, was in a continual turmoil until years after the Civil War was over.

About the close of the war, his father moved with his family to Fredericktown, Madison County, Missouri. Young Peterson farmed for a time, clerked in a store, tinkered clocks, peddled religious chromos, and was leader of the Fredericktown Band. Later he assisted his father, who was at one time Probate Judge of the County, and held some other official positions at Fredericktown. In the year 1869, on June 6th, Cyrus A. Peterson, while serving as a constable, endeavored to arrest the notorious desperado, Sam Hilderbrand, and they exchanged shots, Hilderbrand being shot through the fleshy part of the thigh, and Peterson untouched. Hilderbrand escaped and lived to write his well-known *Autobiography* in which he gave a rather distorted account of this and other affairs in which he took part.

The education of Mr. Peterson, which had stopped abruptly before the age of thirteen, was again taken up as the result of the enforced idleness caused by a spell of typhoid fever, about the year 1868 and the long convalescence following it. During this period he became in truth a student and continued as one until the close of his life. He now mastered German and Latin and prepared himself for admission to the bar, but not liking this profession, he declined to practice law and took up the study of medicine. However, earning a livelihood came first, and it was not until 1874 that he began to study medicine in earnest under Dr. Louis J. Villars at Fredericktown, continuing during the years 1875, 1876 and 1877. He attended the Missouri Medical

College during several terms, graduating there in 1878 with the degree of M. D. He had practiced medicine from almost the time when he began his study of it. He continued in the practice until 1880, when his health broke down, and he was forced to go to Nebraska and live for a time on a ranch. In the latter part of this year, he accepted an offer made him by the Thiel Detective Service Company and entered their employ. Possessed of rare executive ability, and gifted with a profound knowledge of men and the motives which move them, his rise with this company was rapid and in less than ten years he had become their Assistant General Manager. About 1892 he became Vice President of this company, which position he held until his death.

On July 2nd, 1872, Cyrus A. Peterson married at Fredericktown, Missouri, Christina Alvina Hartkopf (born November 11th, 1851), the daughter of Daniel Hartkopf, whose acquaintance he had cultivated from 1868 on, in an effort to perfect himself in conversational German, thereby occasionally meeting the daughter. Dr. Peterson is survived by his wife and the following children: Darwin Paine, born August 14th, 1875; Winona, born January 23, 1875; and Tyndall Humboldt, born December 16th, 1878. One son Julian Ingersoll, born June 30th, 1877, died November 12th, 1909.

Dr. Peterson was possessed of a remarkably keen, analytical mind, which pre-eminently fitted him to excel in the sciences, and had he continued in the practice of medicine, he would have won fame and name for himself. As it was, all of his spare hours were devoted to scientific study, and he was fully abreast of the times in these matters. His original research work on the Indians, the Mound Builders and on Archeology, made him a recognized authority on these subjects. He contributed many articles on scientific matters to current publications and published the following in pamphlet form:

Population of Ancient and Modern Rome. Copyright, 1898. Compiled from the most reliable sources and chro-

nologically arranged. By C. A. Peterson, M. D. St. Louis, Mo.

The Mound Building Age in North America. By Dr. C. A. Peterson. Read before the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo., February 13th, 1902.

Narrative of the Capture and Murder of Major James Wilson. By Cyrus A. Peterson, President, The Missouri Historical Society. Read before the Pike County Historical Society, January 26, 1906.

In conjunction with Joseph Mills Hanson, he wrote and published a volume entitled "*Pilot Knob. The Thermopylae of the West.* By Cyrus A. Peterson and Joseph Mills Hanson, New York. The Neale Publishing Company. 1914.

As Secretary of the Pilot Knob Memorial Association he compiled and issued the *Reports of the Annual Meetings* held on the 40th, 41st and 42nd anniversaries of the Battle of Pilot Knob.

During the years 1905 and 1906 he was President of the Missouri Historical Society and did much for the upbuilding of its Archaeological Collections. He was a Member of the American Historical Association; Kansas Historical Society; Texas Historical Society; Ontario Historical and Archaeological Association; Wisconsin Historical and Archaeological Association; American Ornithological Society; American Association for the Advancement of Science and of the American Anthropological Association.

By Wm. Clark Breckenridge,
St. Louis, Mo.

* * * * *

FATHER DAVID S. PHELAN, editor of the *Western Watchman*, died at his home in St. Louis, September 21st at the age of 73. Forty-eight years ago, January 1, 1867, as a country parish priest at Edina, Mo., Father Phelan began the publication of the *Western Watchman*, which later grew into one of the most widely influential Catholic publications in America. Father Phelan was born at Sidney, Nova Scotia, July 16, 1843. During the past forty years he has been a conspicuous figure in Missouri, both in religious and

journalistic circles, and the boldness and freedom of his utterances frequently involved him in conflicts with the hierarchy. He was successively rebuked by the papal delegate, frowned upon by the bishop of Toledo. Christian Endeavorers asked that he be unfrocked, a former archbishop once suspended his paper and the present archbishop wrote him a letter of reproach, yet Father Phelan continued to speak his mind fully and vigorously. His pastorate has included charges at Indian Creek, Edina, Pacific, and finally the church of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in St. Louis where he has been pastor since 1873.

* * * * *

EDWARD L. PREETORIUS, president of the German-American Press Association and one of the founders of the *St. Louis Times*, died at his home in St. Louis November 1st. Mr. Preetorius, who was born in St. Louis in 1866, was the son of the late Dr. Emil Preetorius, founder of the *Westliche Post* and one of the eminent early day Missouri journalists. Upon the death of his father in 1905, Mr. Preetorius became president of the company publishing the *Westliche Post* and in 1907 with the late John Schroers founded the *Times*, an English afternoon paper. Mr. Preetorius was educated in the Manual Training School in St. Louis and Washington University, from which he was graduated in 1884. In addition to his newspaper activity Mr. Preetorius was a member of Governor Hadley's staff, a recognized financier and an active worker in civic and social affairs of St. Louis.

* * * * *

HON. JOHN D. STARKE, Missouri pioneer, farmer, politician and legislator, died at his home at Otterville, Cooper county, Missouri, on November 5, 1915. Born in Kanawha county, Va., now a part of W. Va., on August 3, 1842, he was brought to Cooper county, Mo., by his parents in 1843. He was elected successively to the following offices from Cooper county: Judge of the County Court, 1880; Collector, 1882 and again in 1884; State Senator, 1890. Under Gov. Stephens, 1897, he was appointed warden of the State Peni-

tentiary at Jefferson City. He was a Democrat and a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian church.

* * * * *

HON. JOSEPH TAPLEY, lawyer and legislator, died at his home in Bowling Green, June 28, 1915. Mr. Tapley was born and reared in Pike county, Mo. He received his education in the public schools, attended Watson Seminary at Ashley, Mo., graduated in the Academic department of the University of Missouri in 1879, and in the Law department in 1881. For two years he was a law partner of Hon. Champ Clark and for more than thirty years was a practicing lawyer at Bowling Green. He represented Pike county in the General Assembly in 1901 and made a creditable record. He was a Democrat, a Mason and a Methodist.

GENERAL.

Champ Clark: To be officially selected as the greatest living Missourian was the unusual distinction conferred September 30th upon Hon. Champ Clark, Speaker of the National House of Representatives. The selection of the State's most distinguished citizen was made by Gov. Elliott W. Major in response to a request from President Charles Moore, of the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco.

During the course of an address to an audience of Missourians, assembled in Sedalia on Governor's Day at the State Fair, Gov. Major made public his choice of Mr. Clark. In notifying Mr. Clark of his selection Gov. Major sent the following message:

"The Panama-Pacific International Exposition has requested me, as Chief Executive of the State, to name the greatest living Missourian. It give me pleasure to advise that I have this day named you as the greatest living Missourian.

"I, perhaps know you personally, and your character and life work better than any other man in public life.

"You merit this tribute by reason of your achievements, the splendid service you have rendered both state and nation, and the honors and distinction bestowed upon you by an appreciative people.

Elliott W. Major,
Governor.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

The Boone Monument: Historic, patriotic and worthy of Missouri was the celebration held at Marthasville, Mo., on Friday, October 29th, when a monument erected to Daniel and Rebecca Boone was unveiled and dedicated. The celebration was the work of the Missouri D. A. R., and the people of Marthasville and Warren county. Over two thousand persons were present and an interesting program was given. The monument was unveiled by Mrs. Mark S. Salisbury, State Regent of the D. A. R. The marker stands about seven feet high, on a knoll overlooking a beautiful scope of country. On the granite monument, which was mined near Wright City, Mo., is a bronze tablet which bears the following inscription: "Daniel Boone, born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1735; died in Warren county, 1820; and wife, Rebecca Bryan, born 1727; died in March, 1813. Removed to Frankford, Ky., 1845." The tablet also bears in bas relief a picture of Daniel Boone, and the coat of arms of his family and of the D. A. R. The address of the day was delivered by Hon. E. W. Stephens, of Columbia, Mo. Other speakers were Hon. John L. RoBards of Hannibal; George T. Bryan, of Dawson Springs, Ky.; and Jesse P. Crump, of Independence, Mo. The latter two are descendants of the Boones.

* * * * *

Diamond Jubilee of the German Evangelical Synod of North America:

On October 15, 1915, over three hundred thousand persons in the United States celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the German Evangelical Synod, which had its birth in Missouri. In a little wildwood church at a place now called Mehlville, six ministers—four residents in Missouri and two in Illinois—organized "The German Evangelical Church Association of the West." This organization, erroneously associated in popular thought with the Lutheran Church, grew into "The German Evangelical Synod of North America," a denomination with more than one thousand pastors and three hundred thousand communicants. While of American origin, founded on Mis-

souri soil, the Synod had its roots in the old Fatherland. Although not founded by The Evangelical Church of Germany, its first ministers and members had formerly belonged to that denomination. The fathers of the new church were Karl Louis Daubert, of Quincy, Ill.; Edward Louis Nollau, of Gravois Settlement, Mo.; John Jacob Riess, of Centerville, Ill.; Herman Garlichs, of Femme Osage, Mo.; Philip Jacob Heyer, of St. Charles, Mo.; and George W. Hall, of St. Louis, Mo. All except Daubert had been preaching the gospel for years, principally among the Germans in Missouri and Illinois. German immigration to these states and especially to the former had already set in on a large scale by 1840 and large communities of Germans had settled in St. Charles, Warren and several other counties. Owing to the glowing accounts of the Missouri Valley published in Germany and especially to the fascinating description of Missouri's soil and climate by Dr. Gottfreed Duden, hundreds of Germans from Germany and from the eastern United States poured into the new State. Industrious, thrifty, pious people, there was lacking but one great factor to make life complete. This was religious organization and especially ministers. This need was partly supplied at first by the Basel Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society. The ministers sent to Missouri from the old country, soon appreciated the necessity of organization. The result was the organization in the Gravois Settlement near St. Louis of what is today the Synod of North America.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to a thousand members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missouriana. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. They treat of subjects that lovers of Missouri are interested in. They are full of new information and are not hackneyed or trite. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

In addition to the monographs, the *Review* contains a list of books recently published by Missourians or on Missouri, and a list of Missouri historical articles that have appeared in the newspapers of the State. The last is an aid to teachers, editors and writers, and will become even more valuable with age.

Departing from the custom adopted by most historical societies, this journal contains reviews of only those books and articles that relate to Missouri. This concentration makes possible a more thorough and, to Missourians, a more interesting and valuable historical contribution than could otherwise be obtained.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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EARLY OPPOSITION TO THOMAS HART BENTON.

C. H. McCLURE.

In February, 1850, Thomas Hart Benton was defeated for reelection to the Senate of the United States. The contest in which Benton lost his seat in the Senate has several characteristics which make it stand out prominently in the history of the State and of the Nation. The passage of the Jackson resolutions marks a definite time at which the contest seemed to begin. Two questions which later became of great significance to the entire nation—the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in a territory, and disunion—were the issues. The struggle was marked by one of the most spectacular and vindictive speaking campaigns in our history. The apparent suddenness, the later significance of the issues involved, and the spectacular nature of the contest seem to have satisfied all investigators that the overthrow of Benton was to be attributed entirely to this contest and the issues involved in it. Thus Meigs, Rogers, and Roosevelt, the three biographers of Benton, agree that after his first election in 1820 he was elected practically without opposition until his defeat in 1850;[1] while Ray in his "*Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*" places the beginning of the contest in 1844,

[1]Meigs, *Life of Benton*, p. 407f; Rogers, *Life of Benton*, p. 36; Roosevelt, *Life of Benton*, p. 351.

but assigns the annexation of Texas with special emphasis on slavery and disunion as the first cause of the Democratic schism in Missouri.[2]

The purpose of this study is to find the real beginnings of the opposition to Benton which culminated in his overthrow; also to find the beginnings of the factions in the Democratic party in the State and the issues upon which the division was made. The Missouri sources show that Benton did have trouble in being reelected in 1844 and that there was a serious effort to overthrow him; that the dominant party began to break into factions long before 1844 and that the break came upon the currency question which was later allied to certain constitutional problems; and finally that the Texas issue was seized upon by the already well organized opposition to Benton, and effectively used against him. This study attempts to present these developments as they arose; first the split upon the currency issue, then the constitutional problems which were injected into the contest, the alignment of factions in 1842 followed by the open assault upon Benton, the contest for the control of party machinery, and finally the campaign of 1844 which resulted in the election of Benton.

BANKING AND CURRENCY IN MISSOURI, 1837-1843.

The purpose of this study is to describe the opposition to Thomas H. Benton which attempted and almost succeeded in effecting his overthrow in 1844 on the occasion of his fifth and last election to the United States Senate. Banking and currency were the chief issues in this fight against Benton. Therefore, Benton's policy upon these questions, the local Missouri problems connected with them, and the legislation and public opinion concerning them must be explained before a discussion of the actual fight is attempted. Banking and currency were national questions as well as state questions and as Benton's chief work was in the United States Senate he looked upon these questions from the national viewpoint. Among those opposed to the second United States Bank

[2]Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, pp. 27-71.

probably Benton was the only leader who had a clear-cut, definite, constructive, currency policy. At any rate he had such a policy. Benton's plan was to divorce the government from all banks, to provide for the deposit of the government funds at the mints and in subtreasuries, and to encourage the use of hard money in every possible way. He believed that small notes banished silver and gold from circulation; that they were easily counterfeited and circulated among people not skilled in detecting counterfeit; and that they threw the burdens and losses of the paper money system occasioned by depreciation, upon the laboring and small dealing portion of the community, who had no share in the profits of banking and should not be made to share its losses.[3]

Benton failed to get his currency plans adopted by the United States government and turned to Missouri as a sort of experiment station where he could try out his theories of currency. His influence in the Missouri General Assembly was all powerful,[4] and his political friends at Jefferson City wrote, at least, a part of his ideas concerning a bank into the charter of the Bank of Missouri. One clause prohibited the issue of notes of a less denomination than ten dollars. The capital stock was to be five million dollars, and one-half was to be reserved for the use of the State. The bank was to be managed by a president and twelve directors. The president and six of the directors were to be elected by the General Assembly every two years.[5] The charter provided that the bank should furnish the governor a statement of all its affairs semi-annually; that the governor should, after the August election, appoint a committee of three newly elected members of the General Assembly, not stockholders in the bank, who should examine the bank and report its general condition to the General Assembly when it convened;[6] and that either house of the General Assembly might appoint a committee to investigate the affairs of the bank.[7] The charter also contained the following clause: "Whenever said bank shall

[3] *Thirty Years' View*, I. p. 158; Meigs, *Life of Benton*, p. 260.
[4] Darby, *Personal Recollections*, p. 181.
[5] Charter of the Bank, *Mo. Session Acts*, 1836-37, pp. 12-28.
[6] *Ibid.*, Sec. 43.
[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. 55.

stop specie payment, the charter shall cease and determine; and it shall be placed in the hands of trustees appointed by the governor to settle the affairs of the bank." From the above provisions of the charter of the bank two conclusions are evident; first, that the governor and General Assembly thru the power to elect officers, require statements and appoint investigating committees, could control the general policy of the bank; second, that the very existence of the bank required that it should not suspend specie payment.

On the 9th day of October, 1839, the banks of Philadelphia suspended specie payment. They were followed by all the banks of the South and West except the Bank of Missouri. On November 12th the directors of the Bank of Missouri met and passed a resolution "That the bank will in the future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie or the notes of specie paying banks." [8] There was a general movement of specie to the East and the notes of the Bank of Missouri together with all the specie available were not sufficient to meet any considerable amount of the merchants' obligations daily falling due. The notes of banks of other states formed the greater part of the local currency. By this act of the Bank the notes of all suspended banks lost their character as money for the payment of debts. Great excitement was aroused among the merchantile and industrial classes. The emergency was so great that several of the wealthier citizens offered to bind themselves legally to indemnify the bank for any loss it might sustain by depreciation of the notes heretofore received, if it would rescind its action. The directors of the bank held a meeting but determined to adhere to their original action.[9] When this became known an indignation meeting was called and the action of the Bank directors was severely condemned. Resolutions were adopted recommending that those doing business with the Bank withdraw their deposits. As a result many of the heaviest depositors withdrew their funds and deposited them with some of the insurance companies or other corporations. On the opposite side of the Mississippi River and in

[8] Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, p. 1373.
[9] *Ibid.*

territory commercially tributary to St. Louis were numerous banks, practically without restrictions and often disregarding those which were provided, issuing a great amount of paper currency of all denominations.[10] The inevitable result followed. Small foreign bank notes came in in large quantities. Clearly, the commercial needs of St. Louis together with the legal restrictions imposed upon and by the Bank of Missouri created opportunities for lucrative illegal banking. These opportunities were made use of by the so-called insurance companies and other corporations of St. Louis, and great quantities of cheap fluctuating currency were forced into circulation by these institutions.[11] In the early forties heavy issues of shinplasters (warrants issued by an incorporated political body, usually a city or county) further complicated the currency questions.[12] There were now so many kinds of paper money subject to continual fluctuations that elaborate quotations of notes were required, and brokers had a rich harvest in negotiating them. The business of these insurance companies and brokers was very profitable. They became so strong that, it seems, they were enabled largely to control the political leaders as well as the press of both political parties in the city. In these companies and their following is to be found the most determined and deepseated opposition to the aggressive hard money legislative program, and especially to Benton who was recognized by all as the leader of the movement.

The exclusion from the State of this foreign paper currency became the chief object of Benton and his followers in Missouri politics. Benton wanted to test his hard money theory in Missouri but that was impossible as long as cheap paper money from other states could circulate freely. From 1838 to 1843 at each session of the General Assembly bills were introduced for this purpose. The first bill was introduced by Redman, of Howard county, in 1838. It made the passing or receiving of any bank note or paper currency of twenty dollars or less (Bank of Missouri notes excepted) a

[10] Knox, *History of Banking*, pp. 702-747.
[11] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Dec. 17, 1840.
[12] *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1841, Feb. 24, 1842.

all judges should be appointed by the governor and should hold office for life. The dissatisfaction was chiefly with the life term provision. As the judges were all Democrats the Whigs were naturally willing to see the life term abolished. This argument for a constitutional convention appealed with much force to many people. The Democrats tried, too late, to amend the constitution and thus remove the question of judicial term as a cause for calling a constitutional convention. The legislature passed an amendment in 1842 reducing the term of the supreme court judges to ten years and all others to six years. The amendment contained a clause vacating the offices of all judges on the first day of January 1845.[18] Before the amendment could become a part of the constitution it had to be passed again by the legislature of 1844. As its passage would have given the governor the opportunity of immediately filling all judicial offices of the State, and thus would have given him a chance to reward his political friends, the Hards, the Whigs voted solidly against the amendment when it came up for second passage, and it failed to receive the necessary two thirds vote.[19]

A large and growing body of voters were demanding a constitutional convention for the purpose of securing a readjustment of representation in the General Assembly. The constitution of the State contained the following clause: "Each county shall have at least one representative but the whole number of representatives shall never exceed one hundred".[20] The result of this clause was a growing inequality in representation. In 1820 the fifteen counties were represented by forty-three members in the House of Representatives: in sixteen years (1836) the number of counties had increased to sixty and the number of representatives to ninety-eight. The legislature of 1840-41 increased the number of counties to seventy-seven and the number of representatives to one hundred, the constitutional limit. The Legislature of 1842-43 created nineteen new counties and as each county had to have one representative, the next legis-

[18] *Laws of Missouri*, 1843, p. 9.

[19] *Mo. House Journal*, 1844-45, pp. 296-297; *Senate Journal*, 1844-45, pp. 99f., 108.

lature in making the apportionment was compelled to reduce all counties to one representative except Platte, which was given two, and St. Louis, which was given four. The inequality of representation was now so great that Caldwell county with a total population of 1583 had one representative while Boone county with a total population of 14,290 had only one representative, and St. Louis county with a population of 47,668 had only four, or approximately one representative for each 12,000 persons. This inequality tended to become greater as the population of St. Louis increased much faster than that of the frontier counties.[21] The older and more populous counties were usually Whig. The new counties were Democratic. The Whigs of the older counties soon saw what must happen to them as the number of counties were increased. Therefore, as early as 1832 the Whig members began to fight the creation of new counties.[22] But the Democratic majorities in the Legislature together with the fact that the new counties were sure to be Democratic made their fight a hopeless one from the beginning.

Upon this question of reapportionment the interests of the older and more populous communities caused them to be very decidedly in favor of a constitutional convention. The frontier counties, however, were afraid a readjustment of representation might cause them to be grouped into legislative districts, and they did not care to lose their individual representation. Benton's political success was naturally favored by a large Democratic majority in the legislature, but there is no evidence that he objected to a constitutional convention on the question of reapportionment.

The constitutional questions had been of sufficient importance to cause the proposition of a constitutional convention to be submitted to the people in 1835. The act providing for this convention made the county the basis of representation in the convention. It was so evident that the Democratic frontier counties would be in control that the Whigs and more

[21] *Constitution of 1820*, Art. III, Sec. 2.

[22] The *Census Report* of 1850, p. 655, gives the population of St. Louis county 104,978 and Caldwell county 2,176.

[23] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Oct. 26, 1843.

populous counties defeated the proposition by a vote of two to one.[23] The question of a convention continued to be agitated until the Legislature of 1842-43 again submitted the proposition to be voted on at the August election of 1844. This act made the senatorial district the basis of representation in the convention. Many Democratic leaders who at heart were probably opposed to the convention soon saw that it would be impossible to defeat it and, therefore, came out for it. The friends of Benton were the last to come over and there is no evidence that Benton ever favored the convention. The vote stood 37,426 for, and 13,750 against the convention.[24] The convention met in the fall of 1845. A new constitution was drafted and submitted to the people at the general election in 1846. It corrected the problem of representation by creating legislative districts of the thinly populated counties, but the constitution was rejected by a majority of about 10,000. The question of districting the State for the purpose of electing members to Congress came to be, in its effect upon Benton's career, of equal if not greater importance than that of a constitutional convention. The Whig Congress had passed an act, 1842, regulating the election of congressmen. This act provided that in each state the legislature should divide the state into districts for the purpose of electing congressmen. Missouri had been electing by general ticket. The greater part of the State officers and congressmen had been residents of the central part of the State. This was the oldest and most thickly settled portion of the state (except St. Louis which was a Whig city in a Democratic state and did not get many of the state officials) and it would naturally be expected to furnish a large proportion of the officials. In the central counties the sentiment of the Democrats was very strong against the district system,[25] but in all the frontier sections every one emphatically favored districting the state. There had long been a feeling in the border counties that the central part of the state was controlling everything and getting all the

[23] *Missouri Intelligencer*, Sept. 12, 1835.
[24] *Statesman*, Nov. 29, 1844.
[25] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Aug. 25, 1842.

offices. There was good reason for the feeling. The Democratic leaders of Howard, Saline, Cooper, and Cole counties had already been designated as the "Central Clique" and the district question brought the two sections in the Democratic party into open conflict.

These issues of a new constitution and of districting the State are of interest in this study because Benton was practically compelled to take the unpopular side of both questions. His sentiment against paper currency and state banks of issue was so strong that upon that question alone, so far as his speeches or letters show, he was opposed to calling a constitutional convention. No doubt his political theories as well as his sense of fairness would have caused him to favor a convention upon both the question of reapportionment and judicial tenure, but he was afraid a convention would do away with the constitutional restrictions on banking. In a letter to the Democratic Committee of Clay county, dated August 16, 1843, he said: "The constitution of the state of Missouri places some restrictions on the legislative power over the creation of banks; they are not sufficient, but few as they are, the *Paper Money Party* are looking to the contingency of a state convention to sweep them all away and lay the state open to the mad career of free and universal banking." [26] This statement indicates that he was opposed to a constitutional convention and gives his reasons, but there is no evidence that he actively aided the opposition to a convention. The question of districting the State for the purpose of electing members to Congress was of greater importance to the crowd of politicians who posed as Benton's friends, than the question of a constitutional convention. There is no evidence that, either from a standpoint of principle or direct personal interest, Benton opposed districting the State. In fact, the evidence points the other way. Districting as a political method was more democratic than the general ticket plan of electing congressmen. Benton was a typical western Democrat and from principle should have favored the district plan. His enemies claimed that he had favored that principle and

[26] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Dec. 7, 1844.

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[26] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Dec. 7, 1844.

had changed front. For proof they quoted Benton's report of 1826 in favor of choice of Presidential electors by districts.[27] Why, then, did Benton oppose the district system? The only reasonable explanation is that he opposed it not because of the principle involved or because of his direct personal interests (for he could have had none) but because of the personal interests of his political associates in Missouri. Prominent among these political friends were Minor, Edwards, and Price of Cole county; C. F. Jackson, Dr. Scott, Dr. Lowery, Redman, and Rawlins of Howard county; Marmaduke and Dr. Penn of Saline county; and Sterling Price of Chariton county. All these men lived in the central part of the state and if the state were districted would likely be thrown into one district and only one of them would have opportunity to go to Congress. They therefor opposed the district system because of their personal interests. Benton was not concerned personally except so far as his interests were bound up with those of his political associates, and as will be shown later did not come out on the district question until he was compelled to do so.

ORGANIZATION OF FORCES—HARDS AND SOFTS.

After this analysis of political conditions and issues it is possible to discuss the origin and development of the so-called "Soft" faction in the Democratic party; a faction at first opposing the rigorous restrictions on banking and small notes, later advocating constitutional changes, but soon developing into the open personal attack on Benton which is the subject of this study. After the action of the Bank of Missouri of November 12, 1839, refusing to receive or pay out the currency of suspended banks, the excitement ran high for several days and uncertainty prevailed everywhere. The Whig press was especially active in the agitation. The Democratic organ, *The Argus*, sustained the Bank in its action. The Bank was a partisan institution. Its president and the directors appointed by the State, who were in the majority, were all Democrats, elected by a Democratic legis-

[27] *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, pp. 78-80.

lature, and naturally felt in some degree responsible to the body which elected them. One of these directors, A. R. Corbin, was proprietor of *The Argus*. A few days after the Bank passed its currency resolution, Corbin sold *The Argus* to A. J. Davis. The Argus continued its policy of defense of the Bank's action. Thus the action of the Bank and the problems growing out of it were considered by all to be political questions. The excitement, uncertainty, and business depression was used by the Whigs as political capital.

The city election in the spring of 1840 gave the first opportunity for the Whigs to turn the popular indignation against the Bank to political advantage. For two months preceding the election *The Republican* (Whig) attacked the Democratic party almost daily on some phase of the currency question. The Redman bill was declared to be the issue of the contest in the city election.[28] One editorial said, "Remember that Col. Benton is determined to pass his currency bill at the next session of the legislature" and then proceeded to advocate the election of a City Attorney who would not enforce its provisions. The Democrats conducted an active campaign in defense of the Bank and against depreciated currency. John Smith, President of the Bank, took a prominent part. It was during this campaign before the city election of 1840, that the first defection from the Democratic ranks was noticeable. Mr. B. Lawhead, a well known Democrat, addressed a Whig meeting. Discussing his defection *The Republican* said, "But a short time since he was the main pillar of the administration. He was the owner and chief support of The Argus, and has probably rendered the administration more service than any other individual citizen. He has come boldly out against the measures of his party." [29]

By May 1840 enough Democrats were dissatisfied with the currency policy of the party to form a faction and hold public meetings. At one of the meetings of the "Softs," the "Hards" turned out in force. Lawhead and Wm. P. Darnes spoke for the Softs, and Riley and Trotter for the

[28] *St. Louis Republican*, March 13, 1840.
[29] *St. Louis Republican*, Mar. 25, 1840.

Hards. Thos. B. Hudson, who had been the Democratic candidate for City Attorney, refused to respond. *The Argus* refused to publish the proceedings of the meeting, but made a personal attack on Darnes.[30] Darnes met Davis, the proprietor of *The Argus*, on the street and killed him. For the deed he was fined $500. Soon after Davis' death, A. B. Corbin became proprietor of *The Argus* for the second time.

In the summer of 1840 when Benton returned from Washington he seems to have taken some part in the discussion of local political affairs. The *Republican* said, "The Colonel finds, 'city expenditure, additional courthouses, spurious banking, small notes' and last but not least 'recreant Democrats.' The burden of his song relates to city expenditures and unconstitutional, spurious banking which is carried on within the city." [31] The above expressions appear to have been taken from a speech which Benton made just before his departure, according to the *Republican*, "for the upper country for the purpose of winding up the legislature for another year, should it not be incompatible with his other engagements." [32] Benton arrived at Jefferson City in the early part of October and on the 8th addressed a large delegate convention, the great rally of the presidential campaign. This speech was chiefly upon the currency question and was one of Benton's greatest speeches upon that subject. Three years later when the conflict between the Softs and Hards had become well developed this speech was published by the *Jefferson Inquirer* for campaign purposes.[33] Benton said: "The currency question is the great question of the age." He stated that those who had struck down the second Bank of the United States had put in its place the constitutional currency, gold and silver; that in order to accomplish this a number of acts had been passed, namely: The repeal of the act of 1819 against the circulation of foreign silver, the act correcting the ratio between silver and gold, the act creating branch United States mints, the act which excludes small

[30] Edwards, *Great West*, pp. 370f.
[31] *St. Louis Republican*, Sept. 30, 1840.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Aug. 31, 1843.

notes—all under $20 from the receipts and disbursements of the government, and the act creating a United States treasury. But yet other measures were necessary to complete the great object. One was to suppress all paper money under $20. This had been attempted but had not yet been accomplished. He continued: "Let every state suppress within its own limits the circulation of all paper under twenty dollars.[34] I repeat it the currency question is the great question of the age, it absorbs and swallows up every other; the Democracy must purify and protect it; they must save labor, industry, and commerce from the depredations of depreciated paper; they must stop the banks from suspending when they please and resuming when they please; they must reduce corporations as well as individuals to the subordination of the law; they must maintain the specie circulation; they must do all these things or surrender the government both state and federal. They will lose all power if they do not and what is more they will deserve to lose it." This speech coming as it did just before the meeting of the General Assembly, which convened the third Monday in November, became the keynote to the policy of the legislature. Col. Benton remained in Jefferson City and vicinity until he had to start for Washington if he were to get there for the opening of Congress. His political opponents claimed that he was using undue influence with the legislature, outlining its work, and directing its leaders.[35]

The legislative program upon the currency and related problems was quite ambitious. The course of the Bank in repudiating the notes of suspended banks was approved by resolution, and legislative sanction was also indicated by re-electing John Smith president of the Bank.[36] A resolution providing for a committee to investigate the business of the insurance companies was passed. A law was enacted taxing brokers and exchange dealers on all bills, notes, money or property handled or held in trust for citizens of other states.[37]

[34]Benton said that individually he preferred to make one hundred dollars the limit instead of twenty.

[35]*St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 18, 1840.

[36]*House Journal*, 1840, pp. 116-118.

[37]*Jefferson Inquirer*, Dec. 24, 1840.

The Redman currency bill was passed in the House and lacked only one vote of passing the Senate. But probably the most important of all these measures in its immediate effect was the act amending the act of incorporation for St. Louis.[38] This act was introduced by Redman, of Howard county, and pushed thru over the protest of the delegation from St. Louis. This act changed the ward boundary lines of the city to favor the Democrats and removed all property qualifications for suffrage in city elections. The correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* was expelled from the privilege of going within the bar of the House because he had condemned the act in strong language.[39] The other city papers allowed the *Republican* to use their correspondence and all the papers of the city, Democratic as well as Whig, condemned the action of the legislature.[40] Thus the antagonism between St. Louis and the State government was intensified and public opinion tended to become unified concerning all subjects upon which there was a difference of opinion between the city interests and the central government. The changes in ward boundaries and the enlarged city electorate gave the Democrats a chance in the city election of 1841. Corbin, Democrat and editor of *The Argus*, was elected to the city council. *The Republican*, Whig, commenting on Corbin's election, said, "Other circumstances than mere party strength elected him and we hope that other than mere party considerations will govern his action." [41] The Jefferson City *Inquirer* quoted the above comment and said, "Other circumstances had reference to the currency problems." [42]

In December, 1840, *The Argus* began to change front on the currency question and was attacked for its desertion of Democracy by *The Inquirer* and the *Boonslick Democrat*.[43] In the editorial discussion which followed it was made clear that the St. Louis paper was shifting its position on the

[38] *Laws of Missouri*, 1840-41, pp. 129-141.
[39] *St. Louis Republican*, Jan. 11, 1841.
[40] *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1841.
[41] *St. Louis Republican*, Apr. 7, 1841.
[42] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Apr. 15, 1841.
[43] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Dec. 17, 1840.

currency and banking problem in general. *The Argus* was not alone among St. Louis Democrats in this movement. Early in 1841 the directors of the Bank of Missouri rescinded the order of November 12, 1839, and from that time on the Bank dealt in the paper currency of other banks.[44] The attitude of many Democrats in St. Louis was probably like that of General Miller, the Democratic postmaster, evidently not a man unfriendly to Benton else he could not have held that position. When he was removed by the Tyler administration in 1841, *The Inquirer* commented thus, "We are not afraid to say that a respectable number of Democrats (not oil and water men) were ready to sanction the removal of General Miller, not that he was either a drunkard or a gambler, but that among other reasons he was suspected of being neither a Whig nor a Democrat." [45] As early as April, 1841, *The Inquirer* had suggested the need of another Democratic paper in St. Louis, in the following language: "Our candid and deliberate opinion is that the Democracy of St. Louis and the whole state, owe it to themselves, to establish another press in the city." [46] This suggestion was approved by most of the Democratic press of the state. On August 26, 1841, *The Inquirer* said, "Altho The Argus hangs on the name of Col. Benton, our friends will ere long find, what we last winter proclaimed, that he is an enemy in disguise." On the other hand *The Argus* attacked Governor Reynolds, Dr. Lowery, *The Inquirer*, the *Boonslick Democrat*, and others of the "Central Clique." In the fall of 1841 Corbin sold *The Argus* to Shadrick Penn, Jr., who changed its name to the *Missouri Reporter*. Penn was an editor of long experience who had moved from Louisville, Kentucky. The *Reporter* was welcomed by the Democratic press of the state, and for a time appeared to try to cultivate friendly relations with the up-State Democracy and carefully avoided any reference to the Central Clique. Penn even went so far as to publicly repudiate Corbin who was a candidate for Congress.[47] The

[44] *St. Louis Republican*, Mar. 13, 1841.
[45] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Jan. 24, 1841.
[46] *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1841.
[47] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Jan. 20, 1842.

currency question seemed to drop out of politics so far as St. Louis was concerned. Nativism sprang up there. The Whig party became hopelessly divided. The Democrats carried the city in April 1842, and in August they elected one senator and five out of seven representatives to the State legislature. Such a victory could be won only by selecting men who could be trusted to reflect the popular sentiment toward the most vital public question of the day—that of banking. In St. Louis that was the side of liberal construction of the banking and corporation laws. Evidence that these men were liberal in their views on banking and corporations is found in the fact that both the men and the issues upon which they were elected were displeasing to Col. Benton.[48]

A Democratic delegation with liberal views on the currency could be of greater service to St. Louis in a Democratic legislature than could a Whig delegation. The opportunity for this service came on the election of the president and directors of the Bank. As noted above, soon after the legislature adjourned in 1841, the Bank by vote of its directors decided to receive deposits of depreciated currency. The Hard money Democrats of the State were opposed to that policy of the Bank and decided to elect to the presidency Dr. Penn, of Howard county, a Hard money Democrat whom they were sure they could trust. The St. Louis Democrats were much averse to a Hard money man from the country and determined to elect Kenneth, one of the directors who had voted to receive the depreciated currency. C. F. Jackson, of Howard county, led the fight for the Hards and Thos. B. Hudson led the St. Louis delegation. Hudson forced the issue and Jackson played for delay. The test vote came on a resolution of Jackson's which provided for an investigating committee and put off the election until the committee would have time to report. This resolution was defeated by a vote of 42 ayes to 86 nays.[49]

This was the first definite conflict between the Hards led by a group of men dubbed by their opponents the "Cen-

[48]Penn's Letters, *Missouri Register*, Nov. 14, 1843.
[49]*House Journal*, 1840, pp. 100-102.

tral Clique" and the Softs led by Hudson of St. Louis, English of Cape Girardeau, Ex-Governor Boggs of Jackson county, Ellis of Clinton county, and Wells of Lincoln county. Conspicuous among the leaders of the Central Clique were C. F. Jackson, J. J. Lowery, Dr. Scott, Redman, and Governor Reynolds, all of Howard county; and in addition to these, sometimes called the Fayette Clique, Dr. Penn, Marmaduke, and Sterling Price should be mentioned. The *Jefferson Inquirer* became the champion of the Hards, and the *Missouri Reporter* of St. Louis was the leading newspaper of the Softs.

Until the fight over the election of the president of the Bank, the *Inquirer* and The *Reporter* had maintained friendly relations, but the *Reporter* now came out openly and condemned the Central Clique in even stronger terms than *The Argus* had used. The *Inquirer* replied editorially: "War has been declared by the press of St. Louis both Whig and Democratic, and it is a war in favor of small notes, against hard money; in favor of shinplasters and swindling shops, against half eagles and Benton mint drops; and every member of the legislature who does not bow in submission to the coalition will be marked for proscription at the next election. Their hate extends from Benton to every member who does not obey implicitly the commands of their St. Louis masters. We say to the Democracy of the state every man to his post."[50] The fight was now on in dead earnest. The *Reporter* struck a popular chord in advocating districting and a constitutional convention. The blows of Penn began to tell. Something had to be done or the Hards would be overthrown. Col. Switzler, editor of the *Statesman* (Whig), in commenting upon a Democratic mass meeting in Clinton county which had proposed David R. Atchison for governor said: "This will prove serious and annoying to the Central Clique," and referring to Penn, "He will either whip them into open advocacy of his doctrine or he will guillotine every mother's son of them from his excellency down." [51]

After the Bank election the factional contest opened up as a newspaper fight. The Democratic press of the state

[50] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Jan. 5, 1843.
[51] *Statesman*, Apr. 21, 1843.

began to take sides either with the *Reporter* or the *Inquirer*. New papers were started at strategic points by both factions and efforts were made by each to overthrow the presses of the other. Penn by pushing the constitutional questions and districting to the front secured the support of several papers in the border of the State. The Soft press of the state included, in addition to the *Reporter*, the *Ozark Eagle*, at Springfield, the *Liberty Banner*, in Clay county, the *Grand River Chronicle*, at Chillicothe, the *Osage Yeoman*, at Warsaw, and the *Missouri Register*, at Boonville. The unquestioned Hard papers were the *Jefferson Inquirer*, the *Boonslick Democrat*, in Howard county, the *Fayette Democrat*, in Howard county, the *Paris Sentinel*, the *Western Missourian*, in Jackson county, the *Boonville Argus*, and the *Missouri Standard* (later the *Missourian*), in St. Louis. The *Liberty Banner* and the *Osage Yeoman* (Soft) and the *Missouri Standard* and the *Boonville Argus* (Hard) were established during the year 1843.

Such was the political condition in Missouri when Col. Benton arrived from Washington in the summer of 1843, and threw the great weight of his influence into the contest on the side of the Hards. During the summer Benton made his usual trip to the central part of the state. After his visit to Warsaw the *Osage Yeoman* (Soft) announced in an editorial that Benton was in favor of the districting system. Benton, as soon as he saw the editorial, made the following announcement over his signature dated August 23, 1843, which was published and copied in practically all the papers of the state: "Justice to my political friends (against whom my imputed opinions are quoted) requires me to notice a statement in the Osage Yeoman in which opinions are attributed to me which I never expressed, as that I was in favor of the district system—that Col. Johnson would take the western states, etc. The editor of the Yeoman has been misinformed and I deem it my duty to say so as an act of justice to my political friends, seeing the use which is made of this erroneous statement against them." [52] This is all the part that Benton took in the contest on the district question so far as the records

[52] *Statesman*, Sept. 1, 1843.

show, but from this time on the Softs had a great deal to say about his opposition to districting.

On Benton's return to St. Louis he wrote a number of letters in which he made suggestions concerning the factional fight within the Democratic ranks. These could leave no doubt in the minds of Penn and his followers as to Benton's attitude toward them. For instance in his Palmyra letter of September 16, declining an invitation to visit the city, he said: "Your allusions to insidious and disguised enemies of the party are just and true. I have long seen their designs such as you describe them; and time will soon verify all that you have said. But no matter. Underhanded enemies cannot flourish in Missouri. The spirit of the country is high, and requires an open foe and a manly contest. To make war upon a party while professing to belong to it,—to undermine public men while professing to support them—to foment division while preaching union, to kiss Tylerites and Whigs while biting Democrats, is a specie of warfare of recent importation among us, and which can have but a brief existence in our generous clime." Also under date of September 16, Benton wrote his letter to the Clay county committee (quoted above) in which he took a position against a constitutional convention because of the danger of sweeping away the restrictions on banking.

A Hard Democratic paper, the *Missouri Standard*, which had been started in St. Louis in the spring of 1843, had never attained sufficient circulation to make it effective. Benton and the Hard faction started a new paper in its stead, the *Missourian*, under the management of Van Antwerp, an editor from Iowa. Benton wrote a strong letter of recommendation for Van Antwerp and urged Democrats in all parts of the State to support the new paper. This letter was published and widely copied by the press both Whig and Democratic. The *Missouri Register* (Soft) and the *Statesman* (Whig) claimed that it was scattered over the State under Benton's frank.[53] These letters, together with Benton's statement in answer to the *Osage Yeoman* (quoted above)

[53] *Missouri Register*, Oct. 3, Dec. 18, 1843; *Statesman*, Sept. 29, 1843.

declaring that the *Yeoman* was mistaken in quoting him as having favored districting, put him at the head of the contest against the Softs, put new vigor into the Hards, caused a closer alignment, and brought Penn out in the open against Benton.

CONTEST FOR PARTY CONTROL.

Benton's emphatic support of the Hards and the Central Clique left the Softs no choice except submission or open opposition to Benton. The Softs at heart had probably been opposed to Benton for sometime, but had dreaded the effect upon the public of an open breach with him. A few of the bolder ones among them had declared openly against him, and it was no doubt true that some adhered to the Soft faction not because of their views upon the currency but because of their feeling of hatred to Benton whose speeches and well known views upon the money question made him the logical leader of the Hards. The position of *The Ozark Eagle*, it seems, is to be explained in this way. A deep seated antagonism to the Central Clique and to Benton in particular appears to have existed at Springfield as early as 1840.[54]

In addition to Col. Benton's strong and open support of the Hards there was one other event, which occurred in November, 1843, which probably exercised a determining influence upon the contest. Dr. Linn, United States Senator from Missouri and colleague of Col. Benton, died and Governor Reynolds thus suddenly found at his disposal the office of United States Senator. The Northwest was at that time one of the most rapidly growing sections of the State and a strong anti-Central Clique and Soft sentiment existed there. David R. Atchison, of Clinton county, the most popular man of that section, from all the evidence as will be shown later, a Soft and no doubt at heart an anti-Benton man, was appointed United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Linn. In this appointment Governor Reynolds who was accused by the Softs of being the head of the Central Clique made it appear that there was

[54] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Jan. 27, 1842.

no such organization by going to the border of the State and selecting a leader of the opposing faction for the highest position within the gift of the people of Missouri. More important than the general effect and appearance was the fact that in this appointment Governor Reynolds spiked the guns of Atchinson and his friends and if he did not make them supporters of Benton, he at least put them in a position where they could not afford to openly oppose him.

On October 24, 1843, Penn, the editor of *The Missouri Reporter*, began the publication of a series of open daily letters to Benton.[55] In these letters, eight in number and each four or five columns in length, Penn came out openly against Benton; reviewed his own and Benton's positions on public questions in the past, the St. Louis situation, the work of the Central Clique, and the issues of the contest. Much attention was given to the Central Clique and Benton's connection with it, and his obligation to it was clearly shown. The constitutional questions, the districting question and the currency question were given much space and were well handled from the Soft point of view. The chief feature of the letters, however, was a direct personal attack upon Benton. He was compared to Louis XIV of France, denounced as a political dictator and a tyrant of the worst sort, and accused of being responsible for the schemes and slates of the Central Clique. On questions of national policy, especially the currency, Benton was accused of having borrowed all his ideas from Calhoun.

In conclusion Penn intimated that Benton's wonted decision of character had deserted him, that should his clique friends advise him to back straight out of State politics and cease to play the dictator, he would prove discreet and tame enough to do so. They would long since have tendered such advice to him but for their selfish desire to use his power to enable them to monopolize the offices of the State. This had been the secret of their past devotion to Benton and it was the cause of the fervor of their faith in him. If they had sung hozannas they were inspired by ambition and not by love, and as the prospect of aggrandizing themselves by the

[55] Copied in the *Missouri Register*, weekly, November and December, 1843.

use of Benton's name might diminish, their songs of praise would gradually die away. Penn advised Benton to look to those whom he had regarded as faithful to the cause in Morgan and Howard counties and closed his characterization of Benton's Clique friends as follows: "Finally, when rode down by the charlatans in whom you confide they will be the first to forget the good that you have done, and the most active and malevolent in exposing and condemning your errors and transgressions. Like your special friend of *The Globe* they regard all minorities as anti-democratic, and whenever you cease to command a majority of the state, their peculiar principles will compel them to denounce you right or wrong, as a recreant and a traitor. Mark this prediction. It may be verified sooner than you expect."

The publication of Penn's letters gave a renewed impetus to the factional fight and turned the emphasis from the currency and other issues to the personality of Benton. The two factions still called each other Hards and Softs but in reality they became Benton and Anti-Benton factions.

There are four principal lines of evidence which throw some light on the factional struggle during the winter of 1843-44.

First, the press of the State, especially the Democratic press, was full of editorials. These were partisan in varing degrees, but usually quite bitter. The Whig press, although it professed to stand aloof, was certainly characterized by a strong Anti-Benton tone. In February, 1864, there were twenty-four political papers published in the State. Fourteen of these were Democratic.[56] Of these fourteen, five were certainly anti-Benton, six were undoubtedly Benton papers. Strenuous efforts were made by each side to support its own press and if opportunity offered to overthrow the opposition papers. With the publication of the Penn letters the Democratic press took a more definite position. The Benton papers had insisted for nearly a year before Penn's letters were published that the real issue was "Benton or no Benton." [57]

[56] *Statesman*, Feb. 2, 1844.
[57] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Sept. 21, 1843.

Second, since 1840 there had been a gradual and fairly rapid growth of political organization. But this was accompanied by considerable opposition, sometimes violent, from those known as independents, who did not believe in political machinery and organization. This growth of political machinery took place in both parties but was more rapid and popular in the Democratic than in the Whig party. Neither side seemed to understand the real value of the machinery of the party organization that had been built up. In 1840 there were no permanent committees. Campaigns had to be started by the newspapers. Usually one paper suggested a meeting or convention. If the suggestion met with the approval of the other editors in the territory concerned they copied and recommended the meeting. The press then got behind the convention and pushed it, and urged county or township meetings, to organize and to elect delegates. This condition probably accounts for the great importance attached to the press by all the politicians of the period. Committees of correspondence were appointed after the newspapers had started the movement, but their duty ended with the election as did the State Central Committee, which was simply a committee appointed from a few counties in the central part of the State, usually Howard, Cooper, Boone, Cole and Callaway.[58] In 1841 a movement was begun, probably by the Central Clique, having for its purpose the organization of the democracy along the lines of the party organization in New York. This movement grew rapidly and by the spring of 1844 the Democratic party had a permanent organization in nearly all the counties of the state with standing committees very similar to those of political parties of today.

Third, the sentiment of the rank and file of the democracy of the State may be found by examining the reports of the county meetings held in the winter of 1843-44 for the purpose of electing delegates to the State Convention. As soon as "Benton or no Benton" had come to be acknowledged by all as the real issue, the Hard papers began to refer to the constitutional convention, districting, and even the details

[58] *Missouri Register*, Oct. 22, 1840.

of the currency bills, meaning the penalties, as mere matters upon which Democrats might honestly differ. The real question at issue was the election of the United States Senator. Missouri must stand by her distinguished statesman. To be disloyal to Benton, according to these papers, was to be a traitor to the party. This change of emphasis gave the Hards a great advantage. There was a real contest in nearly all the counties of the State, so that the resolutions passed meant something. The Central Clique undoubtedly had their lieutenants in most of these counties and probably half a dozen men attempted to call the meeting, get themselves elected as officers and committeemen, adopt a cut and dried set of resolutions, and have themselves sent as delegates to the State Convention at Jefferson City, but the fight became too hot for that sort of thing to work well. Both sides played at the same game and then it became a question of getting out the vote. Each man in most instances had an opportunity to vote for the kind of resolution that he wanted on the question at issue. While one side usually elected the chairman and controlled the committee on resolutions, the other side was always ready with substitute resolutions on the important questions. The real contest for the control and party name was fought out in these meetings. Forty sets of these county resolutions have been examined. Out of the forty only five were radically Soft, while eleven were radically Hard; but seventeen showed Soft tendencies, while only seven, not radically Hard, showed Hard tendencies. The counties which adopted Soft resolutions were St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, Clinton, Clay and Lafayette. The Hard counties were Howard, Saline, Pettis, Cole, Morgan, Miller, Boone, Callaway, Randolph, Macon and Washington. A glance at the map shows that there was good reason for the charges of the existence of a Central Clique. All the radically Hard counties except Washington were compactly grouped in the center, and in this central territory all the counties were Hard except Cooper where *The Missouri Register* was published. There were three Soft strongholds. One was in St. Louis where the movement had begun. Another was in the South-

east, the home of English, a prominent Soft leader and later a candidate against Benton for the United States Senate. The third was in the Northwest, the home of Senator Atchison and A. A. King, a prominent Soft, a Circuit Judge and later Governor of the State.

In the Northwest the Anti-Clique feeling seemed to be stronger than in any other part of the State outside of St. Louis. Three of the five counties from which radically Soft resolutions were reported were in that section of the State. Two of the Soft papers, *The Liberty Banner* and *The Grand River Chronicle*, were located there. General Atchison, without doubt the most prominent man among the Softs, lived in Clinton county. Atchison's later prominence makes it advisable to examine the evidence of his Soft tendencies. The evidence is largely indirect as there is no statement of his position made by himself at this time. There is enough indirect evidence, however, to settle beyond any reasonable doubt his position. Penn in an editorial asked the editor of *The Inquirer* if he would support any one of a number of men, including Atchison, for governor, the men named being Softs. The *Statesman*, a Whig paper, gave an account of a meeting held in Clinton county, a radically Anti-Benton county, which proposed Atchison for governor; Switzler, the editor, in his comments on this meeting said that this would prove embarrassing to the Central Clique. In an editorial quoted from the *Missourian* on the districting question, the editor said: "We will inform the Banner that if the views of that paper accord with those of its favorite Senator we have reason to believe there will be no material difference between us in regard to districting." The fact that Atchison was the favorite Senator of the *Banner*, an open opponent of Benton, was significant as was also the evidence of his position on the districting question. The *New Era*,[59] a Whig paper published in St. Louis, said that Atchison was a Johnson man; this also is significant though not conclusive; not all Johnson men were anti-Benton but most of them were. The *Inquirer* said: "General Atchison who has lately been appointed to a seat in the United States Senate prefers that the legislature

[59]Quoted in *Jefferson Inquirer*, Nov. 16, 1843.

should at the next session district the state." And again: "General Atchison believes Col. Johnson to be the most available man for President." The *Missouri Register*, the leading Anti-Benton paper outside of St. Louis, said editorially: "Hon. David R. Atchison has been appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Linn. It is a good appointment. The judge, unlike Col. Benton, is in favor of districting the state for the election of members to Congress, is a true and liberal Democrat. We have heard it intimated that he was recommended to the governor by Col. Benton as a suitable man to be his colleague; if so, the Colonel is deceived, for the judge is a Johnson man, goes for the district system and against the proscription of any portion of the Democratic party, which is more than we can say for Col. Benton".[60] Finally, good evidence is found in the manner in which the appointment of Atchison was received in the Northwest. A correspondent writing in the *Liberty Banner* after describing the joy in that section over the appointment of Atchison said: "Governor Reynolds in this act has gone far to secure the gratitude of the whole upper Missouri, he has acted justly, wisely, and well. He has done more by this act, to put down the rising indignation of the people, against the so-called Central Clique—he has done more to prove that there is no such thing, or that it exists no longer, than a thousand semi-official bulletins of The Inquirer. We of the upper country hail this as an omen of peace and good will." [61]

Fourth, the final contest for the control of the Party machinery was fought in the State Convention assembled at Jefferson City the first Monday in April, 1844. It is impossible to get the details of the conflict there. They were purposely concealed. In the published report of the convention no resolution, motion, or measure of any kind that failed to obtain a majority vote was mentioned. This action was in accordance with a resolution of instruction to the secretary of the convention. No record of division on any resolution or other question, except the vote on the can-

[60] *Missouri Register*, Oct. 17, 1843.
[61] *Liberty Banner*, quoted in *Jefferson Inquirer*, Nov. 16, 1843.

didates for governor, involving the relative strength of the two factions has been found. All that is certain is that the Hards obtained control of the Convention and tabled all resolutions relating to districting, constitutional convention, currency, etc., and then forbade the secretary to publish the record of the vote by which these measures were tabled.[62] The strength of the two factions seems to have been nearly equal in the Convention. If the Soft delegations from St. Louis and Benton county had not been unseated it is probable the Softs would have controlled the Convention instead of the Hards. As it was, a compromise candidate, Edwards of Cole county, a strong supporter of Benton but in accord with the Softs on all the State issues, was nominated for Governor. The Hards compelled their candidate, Marmaduke, of Saline, to withdraw and supported Edwards and nominated him over King, Soft candidate from the Northwest, by a vote of sixty-six to forty-two. The Convention refused to take any position on the State questions. So far as issues were concerned its resolutions mentioned national questions only. The resolutions contained a brief endorsement of Atchison and the Congressional delegation, which Loughborough, a member of the Convention from Clay county, said (in an article in the *Liberty Banner*)[63] was not in the original draft. The principal resolution was the one endorsing Benton. It read as follows: "Resolved, that the public course of Thomas H. Benton, as United States Senator from Missouri; his patriotic measures to increase the supply of constitutional currency—to establish the subtreasury—to graduate the price of public land—to extend and make permanent the right of pre-emption—to abolish bounties on exports and duties on salt, and to provide for taking possession of Oregon—his stern opposition to the increase or extension of chartered monopolies—to the fraudulent bankrupt law—his war to the knife on the Bank of the United States—his gallant defense and successful vindication of President Jackson from the recorded slanders of the Federal parties, slanders which on his motion the people of the United

[62] *Missouri Register*, Apr. 16, 1844.
[63] *Missouri Register*, copied, Apr. 30, 1844.

States ordered to be expunged, entitle him to the unreserved respect, esteem, and confidence of the Democratic party of Missouri."[64] There was also a clause in the Atchison resolution, "that we recommend to the Democracy of Missouri *not to vote for any candidate for the legislature* who will not *pledge himself*, if elected, to vote for the election of Thomas H. Benton and David R. Atchison as United States Senators from Missouri."

The proceedings, resolutions, and nominees of the convention make it clear that the fight was preeminently a "Benton or no Benton" fight. On a platform that did not mention state issues, the Benton men gave the Softs candidates for governor and lieutenant governor who had publicly advocated districting, a constitutional convention, and had publicly expressed themselves against the penalties of the currency bills, and only demanded in return party loyalty, close organization and strong support for Benton. But the Hards had secured possession of the party name, the title to party regularity; and in doing so had obtained an engine of political warfare whose power was to receive its first demonstration in Missouri in the ensuing campaign.

CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION, 1843-1844.

The Democratic state convention adjourned April 4, and soon the delegates had carried the story of the convention to their home counties. The suppressing in the official proceedings of all resolutions and motions which did not carry seemed to make little difference so far as the spreading of the news of these things was concerned. The Softs who called themselves "Liberal Democrats" immediately began publishing caustic criticisms of the convention proceedings. Special emphasis was placed upon "Gag law" and the use of the previous question. The convention was severely criticised for not taking a position upon State issues. It was referred to as a "mum" convention and much was made of its *mum* policy. A third general line of criticism was directed against the convention's attitude toward Benton.

[64] *Missouri Register*, Apr. 16, 1844.

While there seems to have been a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Democrats concerning the convention's action, yet there was no organized effort to hold a convention of the Anti-Benton men. Probably the failure to make any effort to hold a convention was due to the fact that the convention as a method of placing candidates before the people was comparitively new and a great many doubted the wisdom of it.[65] Many people considered it similar to the much discredited caucus, and very likely the Democrats who were disgruntled would be appealed to more easily by a ticket presented by the personal initiative of the candidates than by one put in the field by a hastily called convention.

Judge C. H. Allen, a strong anti-Central Clique man, had announced himself as an independent candidate for governor, at least three months before the convention.[66] Candidates began to announce for the various offices in rapid succession as the news of the convention's action spread over the State. So many announced that it became necessary to have an understanding among them to prevent more than one man from running for the same office. This was accomplished by correspondence and conferences among the leading Softs. To arrange the ticket was a very difficult task. Sometimes the real leaders were compelled to withdraw in order to prevent a multiplicity of candidates. Thus Carty Wells, later president of the Constitutional Convention, who had announced for Congress from the Northeast, had to withdraw for Ratcliff Boon.[67] By the end of May the ticket had been arranged. The *Missouri Register*, the first paper to place the ticket at the head of its editorial column as the Liberal Democratic ticket, came out, May 22, with a full ticket as follows: Governor, C. H. Allen; Lieutenant Governor, Wm. B. Almond; for Congress, Leonard H. Simms, of Greene county; Thomas B. Hudson, of St. Louis; Ratcliff Boon, of Pike county; John Thornton, of Clay county; and Augustus Jones, of Washington county. The *Missouri Register* said, "We place at the head of our column this week

[65] *St. Louis Republican*, Dec. 23, 1843.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Apr. 18, 1844.

the Independent Democratic ticket as it appears to have been settled upon by the Liberal Democratic party of the state." Other candidates soon withdrew and the lines became definitely drawn between the two Democratic tickets.

The Whigs had early decided not to run a State or Congressional ticket, but to concentrate their efforts upon the legislative ticket and attempt to carry the legislature and beat Benton.[68] The Whig press assumed the attitude of disinterested spectators and repeatedly urged their followers not to participate in the contest between the two Democratic tickets.[69] However, the Whigs generally supported the Soft Democratic ticket with the connivance and through the direction of the Democratic leaders.

The Hard Democrats emphatically denied the assertion of the Whig and Soft press that the convention was against a constitutional convention, against the district system, and in favor of currency bills. They declared that the convention had not gone on record for or against these questions, but had simply refused to consider them as vital issues or tests of Democratic principles, that the candidates had been selected without regard to these questions; but, as a matter of fact, both Mr. Edwards and Mr. Young, candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, were in favor of a constitutional convention and districting, and against the penalties and test oaths of the currency bills.[70]

This position practically took away from the Independents their issues, and confined them to opposition to Benton, the only issue upon which the Regulars would disagree with them. The chief arguments of the Regulars were those of party loyalty. Treachery, traitor candidates, traitor papers, and traitor party were common expressions.[71] These professions and charges were met by the Independents with charges of egotism, dictation, and tyranny against Benton; with editorials upon "pains and penalties, test oaths, and proscription;" with charges of insincerity and hypocrisy against the

[68] *Statesman*, Sept. 1, 1843.
[69] *Ibid.*, Apr. 5, 1844.
[70] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Apr. 11, 1844.
[71] *Missouri Register*, June 11, 25, 1844.

Hards in their attitude of districting, a constitutional convention, and currency bills.

Party organization was used effectively and some remarkable changes began to take place. *The Grand River Chronicle*, published at Chillicothe, had all along been with Penn, but after the convention it came out for the regular nominees and said the Independents would get little encouragement in that section.[72] Even in St. Louis a meeting called by the Penn faction adopted resolutions declaring allegiance to the nominees of the Democratic state convention.

The Anti-Benton men claimed that Benton, secretly, was not loyal to the national Democratic ticket for which they professed great enthusiasm. Benton's strong preference for Van Buren was well known in Missouri. Soon after Polk's nomination Benton wrote a letter to the *Missourian*, intending it to be published for the benefit of Polk and Dallas, in which he said: "Neither Mr. Polk nor Mr. Dallas have had anything to do with the intrigue which has nullified the choice of the people * * * * * and neither of them should be injured or prejudiced by it. * * * * The people now as twenty years ago will teach the Congress intriguers to attend to law making and let president making and unmaking alone in the future."[73] "The Texas treaty which consummated their intrigue was nothing but the final act in a long conspiracy in which the sacrifice of Mr. Van Buren had been previously agreed upon." The Softs attacked Benton's letter dwelling especially upon the words "intrigue" and "Congress intriguers." In an editorial in *The Missouri Register* Benton was made to say that Polk and Dallas were nominated by Congress intriguers. The editor then said: "If they are the tools of intriguers neither Benton nor anybody else can conscientiously support them. The receiver of stolen goods is as bad as the thief."

[72] *Jefferson Inquirer*, May 2, 1844.
[73] *Missouri Register*, June 25, 1844.

BENTON AND TEXAS.

But the chief attacks upon Benton in the latter part of the campaign and the ones which seemed to have the greatest effect were those directed against his attitude upon the annexation of Texas. Benton had that western spirit of expansion which caused him to resent the loss of a single foot of territory and made him always ready to see any territory acquired that could be obtained with honor. He had opposed the treaty of 1819, in a series of articles signed *Americanus* and published in the *St. Louis Inquirer*, because it gave Texas to Spain. In another series published in the *St. Louis Beacon* in 1829, signed *La Salle*, he advocated the acquisition of Texas and he always favored the annexation of Texas at any time that it could be brought about without compromising the honor of the Country.

In 1844 the Tyler administration negotiated a treaty with the republic of Texas which provided for its annexation to the United States. The prospect of getting Texas was hailed with delight in Missouri, but to the surprise of every one, friends and enemies alike, Benton came out against the ratification of the treaty. Why he took such a position immediately became a matter of controversy. His enemies claimed that he was actuated by contemptible motives of jealousy of Calhoun, and that his arguments against the treaty were without a basis of fact. His friends said that the treaty was really bad and that Benton had not only the knowledge of conditions and the foresight to enable him to see the bad features and the motives back of them, but that he also had the courage and the manhood to expose them.[74] Benton certainly displayed courage in taking the position that he did against annexation at that time. Everyone knew that annexation was exceedingly popular in Missouri, and no one knew it better than did Benton. He knew also that he had a tremendous conflict on his hands in Missouri in which his very political existence was at stake.

Benton said that the treaty was "a scheme, on the part of some of its movers, to dissolve the union—on the part of

[74] *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 4, 1844.

some others, an intrigue for the presidency—and on the part of others a land speculation and a job in script." He declared that to ratify the treaty meant war with Mexico. He was very much averse to war with Mexico and was especially anxious to cultivate friendly trade relations. Probably his jealousy of and opposition to Calhoun tended to cause him to oppose the treaty; certainly, his knowledge of the Spanish land grants and the claims based upon them enabled him to see the defects of the treaty in this respect; and his ardent devotion to the Union caused him to oppose what he thot was a scheme to dissolve it; but no doubt his chief reason for opposing the treaty was that it would bring on a war with Mexico. In this last objection, at least, later events proved that his judgment was correct. The treaty, largely thru Benton's efforts, failed of ratification in the Senate of the United States. He then introduced a bill providing for the annexation of Texas by a method which he said would avoid war with Mexico.[75]

But why should Benton be so averse to a war with Mexico? He did not ordinarily avoid a fight. No true westerner did, and probably the one ambition of his life was to become a military hero. His peculiar aversion to war with Mexico at this time can only be understood when we view the situation from the viewpoint of Benton's fundamental public policy. There can be no doubt but that Benton's dominant interest in public questions was centered around the currency problem. Soon after the failure of the Territorial Bank of Missouri, of which he had been a director, Benton had taken a strong position in favor of gold and silver as the constitutional currency of the country; [76] he had been the real moving spirit behind Jackson in the beginning as well as thruout the fight against the second Bank of the United States.[77] He had secured the change of ratio between gold and silver that had caused gold to circulate.[78] He had suggested and always worked diligently for the sub-treasury.[79] He had proposed

[75] *Congressional Globe*, Vol. 13, (Session 1843 and 44) p. 474.
[76] *Statesman*, Jan. 19, 1844.
[77] *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, pp. 158ff.
[78] *Laughlin's Principles of Money*, pp. 427ff.
[79] *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, pp. 158ff.

to tax the currency of the state banks out of existence.[80] In a speech, in 1840, which was reprinted in *The Inquirer* in 1843, just after he had visited Jefferson City, Benton said, "The currency question is the greatest question of the age," and later in the same speech, "I repeat it, the currency question is the great question of the age; it absorbs and swallows up every other." And it was his attempt to put into practice his currency ideas in the State of Missouri that had involved him in a fight to the bitter end for his political existence. Benton's position on the Texas treaty and his aversion to the war which he believed would follow its ratification becomes clear when it is viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the currency situation in the United States and especially in the West.

The great obstacle to Benton's currency schemes was the lack of sufficient hard money for circulation. He had always claimed that the hard money would come if the small notes were not allowed to circulate. Hence, his effort to have the legislature of Missouri prohibit under heavy penalties the circulation of small notes in Missouri. But if small notes were not to circulate gold and silver must be obtained to circulate in the place of them. Where was it to come from? Benton looked to Mexico for much of it.

In a speech in the Senate on his bill for the admission of Texas he urged as the chief claim for the superiority of his bill over the treaty that it would avoid the war with Mexico, which the treaty would have caused. After showing that such a war would be unjust and dishonorable he said, "Policy and interest if not justice and honor, should make us refrain from this war. We have, or rather had, a great commerce with Mexico, which deserves protection instead of destruction. Our trade with this country commenced with the first year of her independence—1821—and we received from her that year $80,000 in specie. It increased annually and vastly and in the year 1835, the year before the revolution, this import increased to $8,343,181 on the custom house books beside the amounts not entered.[81] Our sympathy and

[80] *Congressional Globe*, Vol. 10, (1841-42) 27th Congress, pp. 81ff.
[81] *Congressional Globe*, Vol. 13, (1843-44) pp. 474-497.

supposed aid to the Texans lost us the favor of the Mexicans, and the imports ran down in seven years to $1,342,817. New Orleans, and thru her, the great West, was the greatest gainer by this import while it flourished—and of course the greatest looser when it declined; and instead of destroying the remainder of it, and all commerce with our nearest neighbor, by an unjust assumption of war against her, we should rather choose to restore this specie import to its former maximum and increase it. We should rather choose to cherish and improve a valuable trade with a neighbor that has mines, and whose staple is silver. Atlantic politicians hot in the pursuit of Texas may have no sympathy for this Mexican trade, but I have; and it has been my policy to reconcile these two objects,—acquisition of Texas and the preservation of Mexican trade—and, therefore, to eschew unjust war with Mexico as not only wicked but foolish." Benton in his letter to the Texas Congress dated May 2, 1844, in which he urged the desirability of annexation without war, used the same arguments and stressed the import of gold and silver into the United States.

But these as well as all other arguments appeared to fall upon deaf ears so far as Missouri Democrats were concerned. Even *The Jefferson Inquirer*, probably the strongest Benton paper in the state, in the same issue in which it published Benton's letter to the Texan Congress had an editorial a column in length advocating the immediate annexation of Texas. The *Missouri Register's* columns were full of attacks upon Benton because of his position on the Texas treaty, for three months before the election. He was accused of being a traitor to his country and to the West in particular, of being in alliance with the British, and of going over to the Whigs. The letters of Clay, Van Buren, and Benton, all opposing immediate annexation, were compared and attacked bitterly, especially that of Benton.[82]

Public meetings were held in many places, and resolutions were passed demanding immediate annexation. C. F. Jackson and Judge Rawlins of Howard county, candidates, one for the House and the other for the State Senate, and

[82] *Missouri Register*, May 14, 1844.

both old political friends and supporters of Benton, and leaders in the Fayette Clique, declared publicly in their campaign that they "would not vote for Benton or any other man for the United States Senate who was opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas." [83] The Whigs approved of Benton's course on the Texan treaty, but this Whig endorsement served only as a further handicap to Benton in the eyes of all good Democrats.

In the face of all this opposition Benton did not flinch or waver on his position. He came to Missouri as soon as Congress adjourned and made a speaking tour in which he spoke at St. Louis, Jefferson City, Boonville, and other points and always explained the Texas question and why he opposed the treaty. The speech at Boonville delivered at a great Democratic campaign rally July 17, 1844, is typical of his campaign speeches during this summer. He first declared his personal disinterestedness in the election. He said that it was more becoming of him to thank the people of Missouri for having elected him four times to the Senate of the United States, than to ask for a fifth election, that he was not a candidate but that he left his interest in the hands of his friends, the Hards. He then proceeded to discuss the Texas question and called on all present who had lived in Missouri in 1819 to witness that he had been the first to write and speak against giving Texas away and the first to suggest annexation. He then proceeded in great detail to give an account of the making of the treaty of 1819, and fastened upon Calhoun the responsibility for giving Texas away. He next made an extensive argument against the treaty for annexation negotiated by Calhoun, denouncing it as "a carefully and artfully contrived plan to dissolve the Union." He followed this with an elaborate argument in favor of his bill and the importance of getting Texas without war with Mexico, which he said would be accomplished by his measure.

Benton's stand on the Texas treaty must have lost him a good deal of support. It gave those politicians who were getting tired of his leadership, or who were secretly opposed to him a chance to come out in opposition to him on a popular

[83] *Missouri Register*, June 11, 1844.

question. Probably C. F. Jackson represented one of these types and Atchison the other. Jackson openly came out against Benton on annexation and declared that he would not vote for him if elected to the legislature, but there is no evidence that Atchison opposed the reelection of Benton. He seems to have stood aloof from the fight after his appointment to the United States Senate, but he boldly took a position against Benton on the treaty when it was being considered in the Senate.

At this time the election for State officers and Congressmen was held early in August. At this election the regular Democratic candidate for Governor, Edwards, was elected by a majority of 5621 over the independent candidate, Allen. The Whigs elected forty-four members in the House as against twenty-six in the previous house. The General Assembly now stood fifty-three Whigs and eighty Democrats, a total of one hundred and thirty-three members. Sixty-seven votes were required to elect a senator. The Democrats had a clear majority of thirteen but no one knew how many Democrats were Anti-Benton. The Whigs made considerable inroads upon the Democratic strongholds especially in the contests for members of the legislature. They even secured two of the three representatives from Howard county, the home of the Central Clique, and it may have been that Jackson's opposition to Benton on the Texas question was what saved him. The *Missouri Register* claimed an Anti-Benton majority of four votes.[84] The *Reporter* claimed Benton was beaten by eight votes.[85] On the other hand The *Inquirer* claimed Benton's election by from sixteen to twenty votes.[86] Thus the August election did not determine the contest.

The anti-Benton Democrats redoubled their efforts after the election. Every issue of their press was full of attacks upon Benton. With the State campaign over, the editorials turned more on national issues. All kinds of efforts were made to cast reflection on Benton and bring him into disrepute. The charge that Benton was really against the national

[84] *Missouri Register*, Aug. 27, 1844.
[85] *Missouri Reporter*, quoted in the *Statesman*, Sept. 6, 1844.
[86] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Aug. 16, 1844.

ticket was renewed. The *Reporter* quoted Benton as replying to a compromise proposition that was made to him at the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore to the effect that Mr. Van Buren withdraw, by saying, "I will see the Democratic party sink fifty fathoms deep into the middle of hell-fire before I will give one inch with Mr. Van Buren. If we cannot obtain victory with Mr. Van Buren we do not want victory and will not have it."[87]

Benton was assailed for not living in the State. "Missouri," it was said, "has long been a kind of political principality for him, while his residence has been in Virginia and Kentucky." [88] The violence of the contest was shown by personal attacks made on Benton. His vote was challenged in St. Louis by a Whig who asserted that Benton did not live in the State, and he was compelled to swear that St. Louis was his residence. Col. Benton had been a director in the old Territorial Bank of Missouri, which had failed in 1819. Some one got a judgment against the Bank and after having failed to get the money had Benton arrested for debt. He was compelled to plead privilege from arrest as a member of Congress. This was done in 1843 and repeated in September 1844. The *Missouri Register* without any explanation of the nature of the debt said, "Col. Benton arrived in St. Louis the first of the week and the sheriff served a writ for debt on him the next day after he arrived. Is it not strange that Col. Benton should be thus used? Certainly it is no credit to him, much less to the state of Missouri after it has fattened him for a quarter of a century." [89] Such was the character of the attacks made on Benton between August first, the date of the election of the legislature, and its assembly in the latter part of November.

Petitions were quietly circulated in some counties addressed to the legislator asking him to vote for some good Democrat instead of Benton.[90] One of these was circulated in Osage county. A correspondent of *The Inquirer* said that

[87] *Reporter*, quoted in the *Missouri Register*, Aug. 27, 1844.
[88] *Missouri Register*, Sept. 10, 1844.
[89] *Missouri Register*, Oct. 1, 1844.
[90] *Jefferson Inquirer*, Sept. 26, 1844.

what the Softs could not effect by open warfare, he feared some more insidious, was endeavoring to effect by strategy, which was only Softism in a new form. The former was an undisguised attack upon Col. Benton for the avowed object of his political destruction; the latter was slyly and subtly spreading the poison of disaffection. He said the annexation of Texas was the avowed object of the opposition but in reality their purpose was the elevation of political intriguers. When the above statements are considered in connection with C. F. Jackson's active opposition to Benton on the Texas question, and the fact that Osage county was a Hard county and had always adhered to the Central Clique it would seem that there was not only good grounds for questioning Jackson's loyalty to Benton but also strong reasons for condemning his motives for and methods of opposition, if the inference that he was the political intriguer in whose behalf the papers of instruction were being circulated was true.

In Benton's speeches on Texas he had always declared himself in favor of annexation at the earliest practicable moment. Texas meetings where Benton's friends prevailed adopted resolutions using the expression "earliest practicable moment," while those meetings where Benton's friends were in a minority used the word "immediate" in their resolutions. C. F. Jackson addressed a Texas meeting in Randolph county (one of the extreme Hard counties that had always lined up with the Central Clique), which declared for the immediate annexation of Texas, and also organized a league (patterned after the organization of a political party) for the purpose of pushing the immediate annexation without the consent of Mexico.[91] A great Democratic rally was held at Hannibal in October. Benton was there and spoke upon the annexation of Texas. He emphasized the necessity of acquiring Texas, but also emphasized the desirability of keeping peace and building up our commerce with Mexico. Later in the day his speech was answered by C. F. Jackson,

[91] *Ibid.*

who advocated the immediate annexation of Texas without the consent of Mexico.[92]

Benton in his Hannibal speech referred to his position as being that of a supposed candidate for the United States Senate. He mentioned the fact that he had spoken of it once before and had said that having been in the Senate for twenty-five years he did not ask a fifth election, that he was passive and neutral in the question and left the decision to his political friends, the Hards.[93] He now repeated what he to be said at Boonville and said further that it now became him to be more explicit, and to say that he should withdraw his name from the canvass if he found any dissention or division among his friends. He would not be the cause or subject of any dissention among them. No such dissention could take place without injury to the party—without impairing its harmony and unity—without, perhaps, leading to incurable division; and this was a consequence he was irrevocably determined should never take place on his account. He repeated, he would take care to have his name withdrawn if there was any division among his friends, the Hards, to whose decision, in all other respects he committed his fate.[94]

THE STRUGGLE IN THE MISSOURI LEGISLATURE.

The Senatorial contest was hanging in the balance. No one knew what the result would be. The date for the assembling of the Legislature was the third Monday in November. Neither side was very confident of success. Both were on the alert and ready to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to secure the defeat of the other. As the date of the meeting of the Legislature drew near the political tension increased There were reports that Jackson would become a candidate against Benton for the Senatorship.[95] The politicians gathered early, not only the members of the Legislature but it appears that the Benton men had as many as possible of their influential leaders come to Jefferson City

[92] *St. Louis Republican*, Oct. 5, 1844.
[93] Benton's Boonville Speech, published in *The Inquirer*, July 25, 1844.
[94] Benton's Speach at Hannibal Oct. 1, *Inquirer*, Oct. 17, 1844.
[95] *St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 21, 1844.

on one pretext or another and then work for Benton on the side. The correspondent of *The Republican* said that there were nearly one hundred men there seeking to be selected as messenger to Washington, D. C., to carry the official electoral vote, all of them active Bentonians.[96] There were many conferences and much caucusing and at this kind of work the Benton men proved themselves superior to their opponents. What was accomplished by them is best told in the words of the correspondent of *The Republican*. Writing before the meeting of the Legislature he said: "Jackson is to be elected Speaker. In this there is a double operation. In the first place, the election of Mr. Jackson to the office of Speaker will buy him off from contending against Col. Benton for the Senatorship,—a fear which has been pretty widely entertained, and in the next place, it once more manifests the influence of the Colonel's favorite measures in the House.[97] The chief clerkship is to be given to Mr. Houston as a reward for the part he played in support of the Colonel's currency measures." Later he said: "The caucus held this morning was not harmonious but the offices of speaker, chief clerk, etc., were settled. All applicants were required to give a pledge to support Col. Benton,—Jackson whose reported split with Benton on the Texas question has been so rife goes the whole figure." [98]

The Legislature met on November 18th. Jackson was elected Speaker and Houston chief clerk. Thus the Hards controlled the organization. After the organization was effected a caucus was held in the Senate chamber. According to the correspondent of *The Republican*, "the object was to whip the few Softs into the traces and to obtain their pledge to support Col. Benton. The meeting was by no means harmonious and two or three withdrew refusing to pledge themselves. The caucus determined to bring on the election at an early day this week. If they can succeed the election will probably take place Wednesday or Thursday. The opponents of Col. Benton will attempt to procrasti-

[96] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1844.
[97] *St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 21, 1844.
[98] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1844.

nate, and if they succeed the Colonel's election may be regarded as doubtful." [99]

On the afternoon of the 19th, Senator Fort submitted a joint resolution "to go into the election of Senator of the United States to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator Linn, and also the election of a Senator to supply the place of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, whose term of service expires on the 4th of March, 1845, on tomorrow at 2 o'clock P. M." Mr. Ellis, Democrat from the senatorial district in which Atchison lived, moved to lay on the table, which motion was lost, yeas fourteen, nays nineteen. As there were twenty-four Democrats and only nine Whigs in the Senate, five Democrats must have voted for the Ellis motion to table the resolutions. Ellis then submitted as a substitute for Fort's resolution a resolution favoring the immediate annexation of Texas. The president decided the substitute was out of order. Ellis then moved to amend Fort's resolution by striking out all that portion after the word "also." The effect of the amendment would have been to elect Atchison at the joint meeting and postpone the election of Benton. The amendment was lost, yeas fourteen, nays nineteen. The resolution was then passed, yeas twenty, nays thirteen.[100]

When the resolution came up in the House, Hough, a democrat from Scott county in Southeast Missouri, introduced a series of resolutions, the purport of which was to approve the course of Atchison and to condemn that of Benton upon the Texas question. This was an effort to delay the action of the House upon the Senate resolution until after the time named for the joint meeting, but the Speaker decided that as they were concurrent they should lay on the table one day before being considered. Mr. McHenry, of Bates county, offered the following resolution: "That the Senate be informed that the House will be ready this day at 2 o'clock P. M. to proceed to the election of two Senators to the Congress of the United States for the State of Mis-

[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Senate Journal*, 1844-45, pp. 42f.

souri."[101] Mr. Davis, a Whig from Howard county, objected to the consideration of the resolution as being out of order. The Speaker decided the consideration of the resolution to be in order, whereupon, Davis appealed from the decision of the Speaker to the House and demanded the yeas and nays. The Speaker was sustained by a vote of seventy-eight to sixteen. Mr. Perryman, Whig from Washington county, then moved to adjourn, but the motion was lost by a vote of sixty to thirty-seven. Mr. Hough then moved to postpone the consideration of Mr. McHenry's resolution, until tomorrow at 2 o'clock P. M., but his motion was voted down fifty-five to forty-one and McHenry's resolution was adopted by the same vote. There were forty-four Whig members in the House. It will be noted that in no instance during the fight to delay the election of Benton did the Whigs cast their full vote against the Benton men.

When the two houses met in joint session Atchison was nominated for the short term by Mr. Fort, leader of the Benton men in the Senate, and received 101 votes, thirty-four more than was necessary. For the long term, Mr. Monroe, Senator from the central part of the State, nominated Col. Benton; and Senator Anderson, Soft Democrat from St. Louis, nominated Thos. B. English, a Soft from Cape Girardeau county. Benton received seventy-four votes, English thirty-two, and the other votes were scattered.[102] Benton had a margin of only eight votes which in itself is significant when it is remembered that the Democrats had eighty members in the legislature, and that Atchison's margin was thirty-four. An analysis of the vote shows that two Whigs voted for Benton and eight Democrats failed to vote for him, that most of the Anti-Benton Democratic vote was in the Senate and came from the holdover Senators and further that it came from the Northwest and the Southeast.

The Anti-Benton forces, clearly, had failed to perfect any coalition whereby they could cast their entire vote for one man, and their tactics was to secure time for organiza-

[101] *House Journal*, 1844-45, pp. 38-40.
[102] *Ibid.*

tion. On the other hand the Democratic organization had succeeded in controlling all the newly elected members except three. The correspondent of *The Republican* enumerated a number who cast their votes for Benton, but who, he said, should have voted against him. Boas, of Ste. Genevieve, had instructions from his constituents in his pocket to vote against Benton when he voted for him; Buford of Madison, French of Dade, McClure of Warren, McHenry of Bates, Salmon of Davis, Smith of Clinton, Warren of Camden, and Wilson of Van Buren (Bates) were either elected on pledges to vote against Benton or as anti-Benton men. Some of them, it was alleged, pledged themselves repeatedly on the stump to oppose Benton's reelection.[108] Here are nine men most of whom, at least, had been brought to the support of Col. Benton thru the pressure of the organization. Indeed the power of the party organization was so great that it not only whipped the Soft members of the Legislature into line, but it prevented any Soft leader of prominence from becoming an active candidate against Benton or even openly allowing the use of his name for such a purpose. Thus it appears that the party organization saved Benton in 1844. The Hard press was jubilant. The papers praised Benton very highly. All open opposition seemed to melt away and while Benton's victory was by a very narrow margin it appeared to be complete.

[108] *St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 25, 1844.

HOW MISSOURI COUNTIES, TOWNS AND STREAMS WERE NAMED.

DAVID W. EATON.

First Article.

The following series of articles is an attempt to perpetuate the history of the origin of the names of Missouri counties, towns, streams and other features. This attempt has many deficiencies the writer is well aware, and it would not be undertaken by him, but that an interest therein may lead others, better prepared, to add valuable material thereto. I must ask at the outset a certain amount of indulgence, for errors, when least suspected, creep in, but an honest discussion in the public press will result in bringing many new things to light, and finally set any mistakes that have been unwittingly made to rights. Any information or correction will be gladly welcomed.

These articles owe much to others, and for the origin of the names of the counties I am under obligation to that eminent authority on Missouri history, the late Dr. Switzler. With the best of intentions of giving credit where credit is due the compiler cannot pretend to enumerate the books and periodicals consulted nor to name the many correspondents and persons from whom he has derived help. He has drawn on Gannett, Houck, Chittenden, Thwaites, numerous State and county histories and many newspapers containing information, and these have in many cases been extracted word for word.

In an original tongue and among a primitive people, every place name had a significant meaning. They were not arbitrary names. It remained for the later, more cultivated and mixed races to give arbitrary names, or to transplant them from some other tongues or some other land. The original tribe of Indians living in Missouri has a name for all prominent topographic features of the country. In a few cases the beautiful Indian names are kept, but the early French explorers were given to apply their own names and these were afterward anglicized, until now they have little resemblance to the original form. But fortunately a few have been kept, and they are real proper names, as for example, Osceola in St. Clair county. The truest names are the ones that describe places, as Dripping Springs and Cedar Gap. One difficulty in such names is that they often lead to compound names and run counter to the rules of the United States Post Office Department.

The aborigines always used descriptive names for topographic features. Many of the stream names are readily recognized as Indian. Some show the early explorers to have been French voyageurs, while others, as Brownsville, Smithton and Klondike, indicate their recent origin. The aborigine was practical, and to him a name was given for

some definite purpose. There were no broad highways then as now, and where his dim trail forked no signpost directed his footsteps, no nearby house where he could inquire the way. He was forced to depend entirely upon himself as to his location. To guide him in the almost trackless wilderness he had only as landmarks the most prominent features of the topography, as a conspicuous hill or stream, and he gave these a descriptive name, to help recall his location, and guide him on his return to his wigwam.

The history of Missouri may be very well traced in its place names. First come the Indian names, usually of some stream or topographic feature, then the French, who were the first explorers, trappers and traders or "voyageurs" as they were called, afterward a few Spanish, followed by the American, mixed with the foreign element of Irish and Germans. Geography and history are very closely interwoven and some one has aptly said that the study of the one, to a very great extent, is very intimately allied with the study of the other.

Of the one hundred and fourteen counties in the State of Missouri ninety-nine have personal, two have state names, four Indian names, while the remaining nine are derived from geographical features. The Indian names are Moniteau, Nodaway, Oregon and Pemiscot. The counties named for some feature are Cedar, Chariton, Gasconade, Iron, Mississippi, Osage, Ozark, Platte and Saline. In the above list may be included Scotland, named for a foreign country and Oregon, an Indian word, but the county of that name was for the State of Oregon, and Texas was named for the struggling young Republic of Texas. The reason for the greater number of personal names as names of counties arises from the fact that the Legislatures of Missouri tried to honor prominent statesmen of their country and State-men who were prominent in the local history of the county. The counties were organized by petition and the petitioners often suggested names but the wishes of the petitioners were ignored when some leading member of the Legislature wanted to perpetuate the name of some distinguished hero of the time and sometimes this was done on the spur of the moment. Some of the names were given quite by accident, some by association, and some in honor. Whether it be wise or unwise to name counties after statesmen or generals, the Missouri Legislature adhered so strictly to this rule that over nine-tenths of the counties have such names.

The question of properly applying names has puzzled the ancients before us. This difficult question has been discussed ever since the days of the Greek philosophers. The following fragmentary dialogue from Cratylus, seems sufficient proof of this assertion.

Socrates: "Can you tell me who gives us the names which we use? Does not the law seem to give them? If so, the teacher, when he gives us a proper name, uses the work of the Legislator. Now is every man a Legislator; or the skilled only?"

Hermogenes: "The skilled only."

Socrates: "Then not every one is able to give a name, but only a (poet) Maker of Names. Such is the (true) Legislator; of all skilled artizans in the universe the rarest."

—(Socrates in Cratylus by Plato.)

It has been thought best to give the Missouri names by counties in alphabetical order. First will be given the county, followed by the county seat town and other prominent towns, streams and natural features that have names. This list is neither complete nor altogether accurate, as reliance was had on information that often the compiler had no opportunity to verify. Some statements in regard to the origin are conflicting, and the compiler has selected those that seemed the most probable.

* * * *

MISSOURI.

The name of the twenty-fourth State, the eleventh admitted to the Union, and the name of its largest river. It was the name of an Indian tribe living near the mouth of the river, but who were driven farther westward by the Illinois tribes. "It seems quite probable," according to Chittenden, "that the word Missouri or Oumissourit was the equivalent or translation of the name by some other tribe, probably the Illinois, from whom it passed to the French."

The most frequent definition given is that it means "muddy water," or "the great muddy river" as contrasted with the Mississippi, whose waters are clear. If the name was given to the *river* by the Indians, it is all the more probable that this is correct, but if the name was given to the *tribe* living on or near its mouth, then, the meaning given by Chittenden, that it meant in its original form, "dwelling near the mouth of the river," has some weight. As already stated, the Indian gave descriptive names. Houck gives the following and the most probable explanation of the name: "The precise meaning of the name of the State, Missouri, is uncertain. It would seem to be a word of Siouan linguistic origin. According to Long, the Indians known to us as 'Missouris,' dwelling at the mouth of this river, were called 'Ne-o-eta-cha,' or 'Ne-o-ge-he,' signifying 'those who built a town at the entrance of a river,' and from one of these Siouan words the name may have been finally formed." In

a note he quotes Featherstonhaugh who says that the Dakotas named the river Missouri "Minnay Shoshoh Chhray," which is literally, "Water Muddy Hill." When this was first suggested, he says:—"I was puzzled, but when I came to understand the description of the country, I thought it not unlikely that, as all the Indian names we were acquainted with are corruptions from the French, the word Missouri might have its origin in these three words. By itself it is not an Indian word, and therefore, it is a fair inference that it is a corruption. * * By taking 'Minnay Shoshoh Chhray' and abbreviating the first word 'Minnay' of its last four letters, and afterwards the others, according to the principles of the French, the word 'Mi-sho-ray' is produced. It is not improbable that such is the origin of the word 'Missouri.'" Houck continues: "The word has been variously spelled. On Joliet's map it is spelled 'Mess-8-ri' or the 'Mess-ou-ri,' the figure '8' invariably standing in the old French manuscripts for 'oo' or 'ou.' On Marquette's map as published by Thevenot in 1681, it is given as '8-miss-8-ri' that is to say, 'Ou-miss-ou-ri,' probably a corruption of the original Siouan name by the Illinois Indians adding their characteristic Algonquin prefix. * * Being the name of an Indian tribe found dwelling at or near the mouth of a river, this name was naturally bestowed on the river. From the river it was transferred to the territory organized out of the country through which the river ran, stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from this territory it was again transferred to the first state carved out of its limits." Houck: *History of the exploration and settlement of Missouri.*"

ADAIR COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 29, 1841. Named for General John Adair, of Mercer county, Ky., who served as governor of that State. He died May 19, 1840.

Kirksville, county seat of Adair county, was laid out in 1841. Located by three commissioners, Jefferson Collins, of Lewis; L. R. Miller, of Clark; and Thomas Farrell, of Monroe.

They were instructed to locate the seat within two and one-half miles of the geographic center of the county. The town was named after Jesse Kirk who was living at that time in the vicinity of the newly laid out town. According to tradition his wife was cooking a turkey dinner the day the surveyors completed their work and he offered them a good turkey dinner and a good supply of whiskey if they would name the town "Kirksville." The offer was accepted. The original town contained forty acres.

Adair, established in 1879 by M. C. Cody.

Brashear, laid out by Richard M. Brashear in 1872 and in his honor named.

Connelsville, laid out in 1902 and named after the famous coal and coke town in Pennsylvania. Adjoining it was the old town of Nineveh, which was established in 1849 by Dr. William Keil as a branch of the communistic colony of Bethel, Mo. This was on land that had belonged to D. A. Ely, and the town is a part of Connelsville. It was named after the Biblical town of Nineveh.

Gibbs, established in 1887 by Gibbs Land Co. Name of one of the members of the Company.

Millard, established in 1872 by S. F. Miller, and name formed from that of Miller.

Novinger, founded by John C. Novinger in 1879 on his land and named for himself.

Shibley's Point, named after the Shibley family.

Stahl, established in 1882 by S. F. Stahl and for him named.

Sublett, founded by P. J. Sublette in 1869 and for him named.

Wilmathsville, laid out by W. B. Reynolds and named by him for Wilmoth McLean. It is said the name should be spelled Wilmothsville.

Yarrow, named for river in Scotland.

Youngstown, surveyed by Tyler Paine and named by Waddill and Miller for George Young.

Zig, named for ——— Ziegler.

* * * *

ANDREW COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 29th, 1841, and named in honor of Andrew Jackson Davis, once a prominent citizen of St. Louis county, formerly of Savannah, Mo.

Savannah, county seat of Andrew county, was surveyed by Benjamin K. Dyer and located by a commission to locate a permanent seat of justice in 1841. The Commissioners were Elijah Armstrong, of Daviess Co.; Elijah P. Howell, of Clinton Co.; and Harlow Hinkston, of Buchanan Co.

Amazonia, laid out in 1857 by P. S. Roberts, Joshua Bond and others.

Bolckow, platted in 1868 by John Anderson and Benjamin A. Conrad, and named in honor of one of the officials of the "Platte Co. R. R." ————Bolckow.

Fillmore, laid out in 1845 by Levi Churchill, F. K. Chambers, John L. Griffith and Indiana Kenyon, and named in honor of Millard Fillmore, who was coming into political prominence at that time.

Helena, laid out in 1878 by H. C. Webster and Henry Snowdon.

Nodaway, named from stream, an Indian word meaning "placid."

Rochester, site first settled by Levi Thatcher, and laid out by James Barnes in 1848.

Rosendale, laid out in 1869, by John G. Gaemlich.

Whitesville, laid out by Lyman Hunt and John D. White in 1848 and named in honor of the latter.

* * * *

ATCHISON COUNTY.

Organized Feb. 14th, 1845. Named in honor of David R. Atchison, United States Senator from 1843 to 1855 and who died January 26th, 1886, at Clinton, Mo. Born at Frogtown, Ky., in August, 1807. He was U. S. Senator when President Polk's term expired March 3d, 1849, and as the next day March 4th, the usual day for inaugurating the

President, was Sunday, the ceremony of inaugurating Pres. Tyler was postponed to the 5th. This made Senator Atchison of Missouri, who was president of the Senate at the time, Acting President of the U. S. for one day.

Rockport, county seat of Atchison county, laid out by Nathan Meek, April 8, 1851, and the county records removed from Linden, the old county seat. Is situated on Rock Creek, from whence the name.

Fairfax, laid out by Charles E. Perkins, in April, 1881.

Langdon, laid out in 1880 on farm of Col. P. A. Thompson.

Milton, laid out Nov. 19, 1867, by John VanGrundy, Sr. Originally called Irish Grove because most of the original settlers came from the north of Ireland.

Nishnabotna, laid out by F. Volker in 1877. An Indian word meaning "a river where boats were built," or "Canoe making river."

Phelps City, laid out Aug., 1868 by Philip A. Thompson, Willis Phelps and Richard Buckham, and named for Willis Phelps, one of the original owners.

Tarkio, laid out in August, 1880 by Charles E. Perkins. Named for river on which situated. An Indian word meaning "walnut" or "a stream where walnuts grow."

Watson, laid out Feb. 1, 1869 by Marion Good.

Westboro, laid out in 1881 by Charles E. Perkins.

* * * *

AUDRAIN COUNTY.

Organized December 17th, 1836. Named for James S. Audrain, who was a representative from St. Charles county in the Missouri legislature in 1830, and who died in St. Charles, Nov. 10th, 1831, while a member of the legislature.

Mexico, county seat of Audrain county, laid out in April, 1836 by Rev. Robert C. Mansfield and James H. Smith. Cornelius Edwards, of Monroe; William R. Martin, of Callaway; and Robert Schooling, of Boone, were the commissioners appointed by the legislature to locate seat of justice.

Named for the country of that name, and which was named, or the name was derived from the Mexican name for the Maguy plant, which gives the people of that country so many of the necessities of life. It was so named in recognition of the excitement at that time in this State over the growing controversy between Mexico and the United States concerning the independence of Texas.

Beaver Dam, which is the south fork of Salt River, gets its name from the fact that in early days it had a dam across it made by beavers.

Benton City, platted by Maj. James S. Rollins, June—, 1881, and named in honor of Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri from 1820 to 1850.

Farber, platted Jan. 1872 by Thos. W. Carter and named for Silas W. Farber.

Fish Branch derives its name from the many fish that were found in its waters in early days. It was probably named by Meredith Meyers who settled on its banks in 1841.

Laddonia, laid out by Amos Ladd and Col. Haydon in 1871 and named for Amos Ladd, an early settler.

Littleby Creek, named for an Englishman who settled on it in 1829. He built a cabin, where afterwards he was found torn and mutilated and it was supposed he was killed by wolves.

Louter, Cuivre and Salt Creeks derive their names from the streams they form.

Martinsburg, laid out in Jan. 1857 by William R. Martin, and named in his honor. He was a native of Ky., and settled near the townsite in 1854.

Molino, named by W. R. Dudley from a list of names.

Prairie township named from the fact that it was mainly composed of prairie lands. Wilson township was named for Daniel Wilson, an early settler in that township. Saling was named for a man not now known.

Rowena, named for Dr. Samuel S. Rowe, who was a large land owner in the vicinity.

Rush Hill, laid out by Reusch and Hill and the name was suggested from the combination of names of original owners.

Salt River, Louter and Cuivre townships were named from the streams.

Skull Lick, so named because many skulls and human remains were found in a deer lick on its banks.

Thompson, named for a pioneer family.

Vandalia, laid out by Aaron McPike, Judge Cadwell, Amos Ladd and Col. Haden, in July, 1871. Named for the city in Illinois.

Youngs' Creek derives its name from an early settler, Benjamin Young, who located on it in 1821. Young was a native of North Carolina, living for a time in Kentucky and Howard county, Missouri, before coming to Audrain.

* * * *

BARRY COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 5, 1835. Named in honor of William T. Barry of Kentucky, a member of President Jackson's cabinet as Postmaster General 1829-1835, the first appointment to that office. Died Aug. 30, 1835, in Liverpool, while Minister to Spain.

Cassville, county seat of Barry county. Under act of Feb. 1, 1839, the commissioners appointed to locate permanent seat of justice were Joseph Porter and Chesley Cannefax of Greene, and John Williams of Taney. They were ordered to meet at George M. Gibson's house on Spring River, Aug. 1, 1839, and locate the seat of justice within six miles of the center of the county. On Aug. 1, 1839 Abel Landers was appointed commissioner in the place of C. Cannefax who failed to attend. Under act of Feb. 25, 1843, John W. Hancock, of Greene; James Wilson, of Newton; and Robert Taylor, of Dade, were appointed commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice, on Nov. 1, 1843, and later in November, William Orr, of Dade; and Berry T. Parr, of Taney were appointed vice Hancock and Taylor, who failed to serve. On March 5, 1844 the county court appointed five commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice: W. Smith of Dade, L. Robertson and C. Cannefax of Greene, James Weems of

Newton, and E. J. Jarvis of Jasper. These commissioners located the county seat at Burtons and an election was held on the removal, but the county court held the election of no value and a second election was ordered. A majority favored this place but the court referred or appealed the matter to the higher courts and it was held that the forty votes cast for and twenty-five against removal did not represent a majority of all the land or property holders in the county, and therefore there was no majority for removal. In June, 1845 the court decided on a site and commissioners were appointed and ordered to survey and plat a town by the name of Cassville. N. and M. Richardson surveyed and platted the town June 30, 1845 under the direction of Levi H. Arnold, Commissioner, to sell lots. The county court named the town in honor of Lewis Cass, then Secretary of the Navy under President Tyler.

Butterfield, platted for George Readman, of Edinburgh, Scotland, and acknowledged in the office of the Sheriff of Perthshire, September 14, 1883. He named the town for ——— Butterfield, an officer of the R. R. Co.

Cato, named for an old friendly Indian who was left behind by his tribe on Saline Creek.

Exeter, laid out for George A. Purdy, September 29, 1880. Named for town of same name in England.

Flatcreek, named for the nature of the stream on which situated.

Hailey, named for N. S. Hailey its first Postmaster.

Jenkins, a family name.

Leann, a family name.

McDowell, a family name.

Mayflower, named for the vessel that brought over the "Pilgrim Fathers."

Mineral Spring, named from the character of its water.

Monett, surveyed by F. W. Bond, for Monett Townsite Co., Sept. 12, 1887, and named for the general passenger agent of the N. Y. Cen. R. R.

Pioneer, surveyed for L. E. Pritchett and by him named in honor of all early settlers.

Purdy, platted in 1880 and named for an enterprising citizen, George A. Purdy.

Seligman, platted September 27, 1880 by the ——— RR. Co. and plat acknowledged by the company's president, E. F. Winslow. Named in honor of Mrs. Seligman, the wife of a banker, who made a liberal gift for building a church at this place.

Shell Knob, so named because of the numerous fossil casts found in a nearby mound.

Washburn, settled in 1840, named for Samuel Washburn, a pioneer who settled Washburn's prairie in 1828.

* * * *

BARTON COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 12, 1855. Named for David Barton, president of the constitutional convention of 1820, and U. S. Senator 1820 to 1831. Died in Boonville, Mo., September 28, 1837. The first monument erected to his memory at his grave was of limestone and was removed to the University of Missouri campus at Columbia in 1899.

Lamar, county seat of Barton county, laid out on land owned by George E. Ward and his son-in-law Joseph C. Parry, by the county court about 1856. Named by Mrs. George E. Ward, wife of one of the founders, in honor of President Mirabeau B. Lamar, of the Republic of Texas.

Boston, named for the New England city.

Golden City, originally laid off in 1867 but replatted April 6, 1870, by F. C. Brock.

Iantha, platted July 25, 1881 by M. N. Wills of Lamar.

Irwin, platted by James McCormick, February 9, 1884.

Kenoma, platted Oct. 26, 1880 by Barnebas Boggess.

Liberal, named to reflect the sentiment of its inhabitants. "We do not prescribe a belief for any one, nor do we measure a person by his faith. Every one is judged by his own standard and manly worth."

Milford, platted Nov. 15, 1869 by C. M. Wilcox.

Mindenmines, platted April 19, 1883 by R. J. Tucker.

Nashville, platted by Thomas and Squire Baker Jan. 28, 1869. A town of same name once laid out in Boone county, but later swept into the river. Named for the capital of Tennessee.

Newport, laid out June 24, 1874 by Miles Boord.

* * * *

BATES COUNTY.

Organized January 29, 1841. Named for Frederick Bates, second Governor of the State, who died Aug. 4, 1825, before the expiration of his term. Lieutenant Gov. W. H. Ashley, having resigned, Abraham J. Williams, of Columbia, president of the Senate, became governor until the special election in Sept. 1825, when John Miller was elected.

Butler, county seat of Bates county, laid out in 1854 and named in honor of William O. Butler of Kentucky, an officer in the Mexican war, and candidate for Vice President on Democratic ticket in 1848.

Aaron, a family name.

Adrian, named for the Roman Emperor, Hadrian or Adrian.

Altona, named for a Prussian town near (all too near) Hamburg, which was just across the line in Germany.

Amsterdam, named for the city in Holland.

Foster, a family name.

Hume, laid out in 1880 by Noah Little.

Johnstown, surveyed by John Herbert in 1854 and name formed from his given name.

Pleasant Gap, laid out by Joseph Smith, and so named by him because of its pleasant situation in a gap.

Rich Hill, named for the rich land surrounding it.

Rockville, laid out 1868 by William L. Hardesty and so named because in the vicinity are quarries of excellent white sandstone.

Sprague, laid out by A. Blaker 1880, and named for Charles Sprague, a merchant.

* * * *

BENTON COUNTY.

Organized January 3, 1835. Named for Thomas Hart Benton, U. S. Senator from 1821 to 1851. Died April 10, 1858.

Warsaw, county seat of Benton county. By act Jan. 3, 1835, John Fisher of Pettis, Thomas Kinsey of Rives and James McCutcheon of Morgan, were appointed commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice. They were directed to meet at the house of William White on Little Tebo, on the first Monday in April, 1835. These commissioners failed to act. By act of January 9, 1837, Bethel Allen of Pettis, Henry Avery of Rives, and Richard D. Bradley of Johnson were appointed commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice and were directed to meet at the house of Markham Fristoe, near the Osage, on the second Monday of March, 1837. After some petitioning and a suit in court the county court appointed James Ramsey commissioner to sell lots. By order of the county court he engaged George Lewis, Deputy U. S. Surveyor, to ascertain the numbers of the land and Robert Wyatt surveyed a portion of it into lots Nov. 14, 1837. The plat was received, and on the first of Jan., 1838 the town was named "Warsaw" from the capital city of Poland.

Bentonville, named for Thomas H. Benton.

Cole Camp was named in honor of Stephen Cole or rather because this famous Indian fighter used to camp on the creek called Cole Camp creek on which the first post office in this vicinity was established. In 1857 Blakey and Brother laid out the town and the postoffice was moved, name and all. The first house in Cole Camp was built by Hosea Powers. He was moving west, without any plan as to where he should locate. Walking ahead of his teams, he came to the spot where Cole Camp now stands, and being pleased with the location, he at once determined to settle on it. He stopped his wagons, and being a surveyor, marked out his claim. He had been educated as a lawyer. In 1844 he was elected

to the State Senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Benjamin P. Majors, defeating Benjamin F. Robinson, of Versailles. (Lay.)

Duren Creek, named in honor of Mannen Duren, who lived near its mouth.

Edmonson, a family name.

Edwards, a family name.

Fristoe, named in honor of Judge Markham Fristoe, a member of the county court of Benton county and an early settler.

Fristoe Twp. (See above.)

Hastain, named in honor of ——— Hastain, a family name.

Hockman, a family name.

Ionia, laid out in 1866 by Henry Pollard and named for the ancient country in Asia Minor, which is the name taken by many Masonic lodges, and the Ionic is an order of architecture.

Lake Creek, so named from the stream near which situated which was so named because of the numerous sloughs and small lakes along it in an early day.

Lincoln, settled by Wiley Vincent, and named for Abraham Lincoln.

Nobby, name suggested by the "knobby" character of the surrounding country.

Wisdom, a family name, named for A. J. Wisdom.

* * * *

BOLLINGER COUNTY.

Organized March 1, 1851. Named in honor of Maj. George F. Bollinger, an early settler and one time State Senator.

Marble Hill, county seat of Bollinger county, was located by a commission to locate permanent seat of justice. By act of—1851 David Ramsey, Isaac Chepherd, and J. J. Daugherty, were appointed commissioners. On December 22, 1851 they laid out the town and called it "Dallas." Of

the site of the new town Joseph Baker owned 17 acres, Joseph Lutes owned 11 acres, David Crader owned 10 acres, and Thomas Hamilton owned 12½ acres. In 1864 the name of the town was changed to Marble Hill, so named from its situation on a hill of the same name composed of marble.

Buchanan, named for James Buchanan.

Castor, named for the Castor River near which it is situated. The Castor River was so named because of the great number of beavers along it at an early day. From the Greek 'Kastor,' meaning 'beaver.'

Greenbrier, named for the well known vine.

Hahn, a family name.

Laflin, a family name.

Lutesville, laid out 1869 by Eli Lutz and in his honor named.

Patton, a family name.

Sturdivant, a family name.

* * * *

BOONE COUNTY.

Organized November 16, 1820, and named for the old pioneer and Indian fighter, Daniel Boone, who died in St. Charles county, September 26, 1820.

Columbia, county seat of Boone county, was laid out in 1821. Land on which the first town plat of Columbia was located patented by the U. S. to Anderson Woods in 1817. In 1821 Lawrence Bass, David Jackson, John Gray and Jefferson Fulcher were appointed commissioners to locate a permanent seat of justice. A town company, called the Smithton Company, bought the land and the same year it was laid out by Peter Wright, surveyor. Named "Columbia" for patriotic reasons "for the queen of the world and the child of the skies."

Ashland, named for the home of Henry Clay in Kentucky.

Note: (There was a town named Ashland, from the ash timber on the land on which laid out, platted in 1852 by Col. Eli E. Ross, at the mouth of Fox Creek, on the banks of

[illegible] which was a real estate venture. Lots [illegible] which were beguiled by an alluring [illegible] but no headway was made toward building up a town and in process of time the property was sold for [illegible] although the place continued to have an existence on the map for some time. *Encyc. Hist. of Mo.*)

[illegible] laid out by Alfred Reise, W. A. Gooding and [illegible] who named it to perpetuate the name of Dr. Leonidas B. Brown. Made a post office in 1876.

Centralia, laid out May, 1857 by Hon. James S. Rollins, M. G. Singleton, Thomas T. January and others and named from its central location on the North Mo. R. R. from St. Louis to Ottumwa, Iowa, and from the fact that it was located near the center of a vast prairie between Mexico and Huntsville, and between Columbia and Paris.

Claysville, came into existence after the flood of 1844 and named by admirers of Henry Clay in his honor. There was a town laid out by the Ramseys called Stonesport, named by them after Asa Stone but it was abandoned after the flood of 1844 and moved to higher ground, now Claysville.

Dripping Spring, so named for a spring near by that drips from the rocks into a large branch which empties into Silver's Fork of Perche Creek.

Easley, a family name.

Hallsville, laid out in 1866, and named for Judge John W. Hall, a citizen and its first post master.

Harrisburg, named in honor of John W. Harris.

Hartsburg, named for Luther D. Hart, a pioneer.

Huntsdale, named for William Bunch Hunt, land owner near by.

McBaine, named in honor of Turner McBaine.

Midway, so named because it is midway between Columbia and Rocheport.

Providence, settled by John Parker in 1844.

Rocheport, laid out in 1825 on lands of Lemon Parker, Abraham Barnes, John Ward and William Gaw, by William [illegible], surveyor. The name of the place was first intended to be Rock Port, but it was changed to Rocheport at the

instance, it is said, of a French missionary who was in the neighborhood. The name signifies a 'rocky port,' or 'port of rocks.'

Rucker, named in honor of Maj. John F. Rucker.

Sturgeon, laid out in 1856 by the Sturgeon Town Co. of which company John D. Patton, James F. Hicks, and Archie Wayne were trustees. The site was purchased from John Rockford, N. B. Banks and J. B. Smith. Named in honor of Isaac H. Sturgeon, then the superintendent of the North Mo. R. R. now a part of the Wabash system.

Woodlandville, so named because the land was covered with wood, and in contradistinction to prairie.

the Merimec River, which was a real estate venture. Lots were sold to speculators, who were beguiled by an alluring prospectus, but no headway was made toward building up a town and in process of time the property was sold for taxes, although the place continued to have an existence on the map for some time. *Enc. Hist. of Mo.*)

Brown's Station, laid out by Alfred Reise, W. A. Gooding and J. W. Hubbard who named it to perpetuate the name of Dr. Leonidas B. Brown. Made a post office in 1876.

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HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS DECEMBER, 1915.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*
Dec. 2. What a Platte Purchase Pageant will tell of Missouri history.
Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Rev. I. R. M. Beeson, pioneer minister and Civil War veteran.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal*
Dec. 2. Historical Sketches of the Journal and of Atchison county, by John D. Dopf. See later issues.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Intelligencer*
Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Peter McCullough, the "hanging judge of Andersonville Prison."
Dec. 16. Recollections of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, by Judge John S. Weaver.
——— ——— *Ledger*
Dec. 2. List of ex-Confederate Soldiers living in Mexico.
Dec. 23. Recollections of Democratic State Convention, 1874, when Hardin defeated Cockrell for governor.
——— ——— *Message*
Dec. 15. An incident at death of Gen. Lyon.
Dec. 30. Recollections of Wild game in Audrain county.

Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat*
Dec. 4. Some Masonic history of Cassville.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*
Dec. 16. Sketch of the life of Robert B. Blevans, Barton county pioneer.

Bates County. Butler, *Republican-Press*
Dec. 10. Sketch of the life of George E. Church, legislator.
——— ——— *Democrat*
Dec. 18. Slavery days in Bates county.
Missouri once a republic—Some early day history, by W. L. Webb.

Boone County, Centralia, *Fireside Guard*
Dec. 3. Some Reminiscences of Centralia, by Mrs. Lola Hays. See later issues.
Dec. 10. Recollections of Centralia Massacre, by Rev. Green, an eye witness.
Dec. 17. Centralia forty years ago, by J. A. Townsend. See earlier and later issues.
——— Columbia, *Times*
Dec. 15. Recollections of Centralia Massacre, by J. M. Jacks.
——— ——— *Tribune*
Dec. 11. New facts concerning Missouri history from paper by Walter Williams.
Dec. 13. Some facts about the Steamer Far West which carried wounded from Custer battlefield to Fort Lincoln.
Dec. 16. The Ku Klux Klan in Missouri as recalled by W. H. Peterson of Clay county, who was a member.
Dec. 17. Some early days railroad history in Boone county.

———— ———— *University Missourian.*

Dec. 2. Reminiscences of early days by Robert H. Smith.
Dec. 10. Some Missouri history told at State Historical Society banquet.
Some personal recollections of Joseph B. McCullough.
Dec. 14. Some recollections of Senator F. M. Cockrell.
Dec. 17. Some tributes to Senator Francis M. Cockrell at Columbia Memorial services.
Dec. 20. Missouri's Last duel.
Dec. 23. Personal recollections of Senator Francis M. Cockrell, by M. G. Quinn.

———— Sturgeon, *Leader*

Dec. 16. Personal recollections of Senator F. M. Cockrell.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*

Dec. 1. Sketch of the life of Louis Fuelling, pioneer.
Dec. 10. A honeymoon fifty years ago.
Dec. 26. Historical sketch of Wyeth Hardware and Manufacturing Company, established 1859. Some incidents in early day merchandising.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Republican*

Dec. 10. Sketch of the life of Rev. Fred E. Kies, Sr., minister and founder of Jackson Volksfreund, 1886.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*

Dec. 3. Sketch of the life of Dr. Robert E. Austin, officer in Spanish-American War.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Democrat*

Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of William I. Fisher, pioneer and Confederate veteran.
Dec. 30. Three years with Quantrell, by Col. John McCorkle.

———— Pleasant Hill, *Times*

Dec. 3. History of an abandoned railway from Pleasant Hill to Lawrence, Kansas. From Kansas City *Times.*
Dec. 10. Some incidents in history of the Pleasant Hill Presbyterian church.
Early day history of the Pacific Railroad between St. Louis and Kansas City.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Courier*

Dec. 10. Recollections of Kahoka in War times, 1861.

———— ———— *Gazette*

Dec. 10. History of St. Francisville, Clark county, in the 50's and 60's.

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Call*

Dec. 23. The beginnings of Excelsior Springs—Some reminiscences by Cyrus Barger.

———— ———— *Standard*

Dec. 13. Sketch of the life of John B. Hyde, pioneer.

———— Liberty, *Advance.*

Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Martha Mather-Satterlee, Missionary to the Indians 1836, who is buried in Clay county, by D. C. Allen.

———— ————, *Tribune*

Dec. 17. Sketch of the life of Sidney G. Sandusky, pioneer lawyer—Genealogy of Sandusky family.

Dec. 24. Recollections of a trip from Liberty to Fort Pierre in 1855.

Clinton County. Plattsburg, *Leader*
Dec. 10. Sketch of the life of Rev. William C. Rogers, pioneer minister and personal friend of Alexander Campbell.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Daily Post*
Dec. 27. Sketch of the life of Frank M. Brown, attorney.
Dec. 28. Sketch of the life of Judge Jas. E. Hasell, State Senator from Moniteau county.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Republican*
Dec. 2. Sketch of the life of Capt. A. G. Tuttle, Civil War veteran.
Dec. 16. Sketch of the life of Robert F. O'Brien, pioneer.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Advocate*
Dec. 30. History of South Greenfield.
——— ——— *Vedette*
Dec. 2. Sketch of the life of George W. Freedle, Civil War veteran.
Historical sketch of Washington University, St. Louis.
Dec. 30. Raid of the Kinch West and Fate Roberts guerillas upon Greenfield in 1864, by Capt. J. W. Carmack.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*
Dec. 9. Women of Daviess County. Historical sketch by Mrs. N. G. Cruzen.
——— ——— *North Missourian*
Dec. 16. An incident of slavery days in Gallatin recalled by death of Susan Garrett, a former slave.
Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of H. C. McDougal, Kansas City lawyer, historian, and Civil War veteran.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat*
Dec. 31. The New Madrid Earthquake, from a letter written by a New Madrid woman in 1816 to Rev. Lorenzo Dow.

Franklin County. Union, *Republican-Headlight*
Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of Jacob Federhen, Civil War veteran.
Dec. 31. Sketch of the life of Phillip Gerber, Civil War veteran.

Gentry County. Stanberry, *Herald*
Dec. 2. Reminiscences of early days in Gentry county.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Dec. 20. Recollections of early day courts in Missouri.
——— ——— *Republican*
Dec. 31. List of Greene county pioneers.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Republican*
Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of Francis M. Madden, Civil War veteran.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Democrat*
Dec. 8. Some Civil War history in Harrison county, by Isaac Neff.
——— New Hampton, *Herald*
Dec. 16. Historical sketch of the town of New Hampton.
History of the New Hampton M. E. Church.
History of the New Hampton public school.

Henry County. Windsor, *Review*
Dec. 16. The beginnings of the Pony Express.
Dec. 23. Missouri's most famous "dog case" which brought Senator Vest's classic tribute to the dog.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt Co. Sentinel*
Dec. 3. Sketch of the life of Levi Oren, pioneer and Civil War veteran.
Dec. 17. History of the benevolent orders in Craig.

Jackson County. Independence, *Examiner*
Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of R. D. Mize, Jackson county pioneer.
Sketch of the life of Warren Welch, veteran of Price's campaigns and Quantrell's raids.
Dec. 31. Sketch of the life of Samuel D. Gregg, Missouri pioneer.
——— *Kansas City Journal*
Dec. 14. Sketch of the life of former Senator Francis M. Cockrell.
Dec. 19. Reminiscences of Senator Francis M. Cockrell.
Tributes to John Gage, banker, and Rev. Joab Spencer, pioneer missionary, deceased members of Missouri Valley Historical Society.
——— ——— *Star*
Dec. 13. Sketch of the life of Senator Francis M. Cockrell.
Dec. 16. Historical sketch of Spalding Commercial College, established in Kansas City, 1866.
Dec. 19. Some of Missouri's "lost towns"—Historical sketches of Philadelphia, Florida, Bethel and College Mound.
——— ——— *Times*
Dec. 8. When Kansas City "Seceded"—An account of the attempts in 1855 and 1879 to annex the city to Kansas.
Dec. 10. How Herman Jaeger of Newton county won the Legion of Honor from France.
History of beginnings of the grape culture in Missouri fifty years ago.
Dec. 22. Marcus Whitman, the preacher who rode for an empire.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*
Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of David King, pioneer minister and one of the escorts when President Lincoln's body was brought from Washington.

Jefferson County. De Soto, *Press*
Dec. 17. Recollections of some of the men who framed Missouri's first constitution, by S. A. Reppy.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*
Dec. 9. History of Holden Christian Church, organized 1860.
Dec. 30. Sketch of the life of William Steele, pioneer.

Lafayette County. Corder, *Journal*
Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of J. W. Harrison, Civil War veteran.
——— Lexington, *Intelligencer*
Dec. 10. With Cockrell's brigade in the South—Some recollections of the Civil War by R. Todhunter, A. A. General.
——— ——— Odessa, *Democrat*
Dec. 10. Early history of Sni-a-Bar township.

Lawrence County. Peirce City, *Leader*
Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of John W. Hopper, Civil War veteran.

Lewis County. Monticello, *Lewis Co. Journal*
Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of Judge J. P. Mitchell, Mexican War veteran.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*
Dec. 11. Sketch of the life of Henry B. Doggett, Brookfield, author and pioneer.
Dec. 25. Description of Brookfield as it appeared fifty years ago.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Tribune*
Dec. 4. Historical sketch of Graham's mill, first water mill in Livingston county.
Dec. 20. Livingston county pioneers. Some of the early settlers mentioned in government survey of 1823, 1824, and 1834.
Dec. 24. The "Lost Township"—Some early day history of Livingston township.

Macon County. Macon, *Times-Democrat*
Dec. 9. Some Macon county history related at annual banquet of the Macon Co. Society.

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*
Dec. 10. Sketch of the life of Rev. H. K. Hinde, former president of Howard-Payne College. See also Dec. 13.
Dec. 27. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Julia M. Bennett, editor of Hannibal *Courier* in early 80's.
———— Palmyra, *Spectator*
Dec. 1. Bethel—a communistic experiment—historical sketch of Bethel, Shelby county.

Mississippi County. Charleston. *Enterprise-Courier*
Dec. 16. Sketch of the life of J. D. Edwards, Missouri pioneer.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard*
Dec. 17. Sketch of the life of G. Pitman Smith, Missouri legislator.

Osage County. Linn, *Osage Co. Republican*
Dec. 16. Recollections of an early day Christmas in Osage county.

Pettis County. La Monte, *Record*
Dec. 24. Reminiscences of Civil War experiences, by William Duke.

Platte County. Platte City, *Platte Co. Argus*
Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of Mathias Cooley, Platte county pioneer.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Republican*
Dec. 22. Sketch of the life of J. Q. Dickerson, pioneer.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls Co. Times*
Dec. 24. Sketch of the life of Abraham V. Beavers—Number 45 in Old Settlers Biography Series. With an account of the Madisonville Fight.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*
Dec. 17. Sketch of the life of W. J. Heflin, Confederate veteran.

Ray County. Lawson, *Ray Co. Review*
Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Smith, pioneer and veteran of Doniphan's expedition to Mexico.

———— Richmond, *Conservator*
Dec. 2. Recollections of the past in Richmond, by Emma Ellis Conway.
Dec. 9. Historical sketch of the old town of Bluffton, by D. C. Allen.
———— Richmond, *Missourian*
Dec. 16. Some Ray County History.
Dec. 23. Sketch of the life of G. W. Cook, Confederate veteran.
Dec. 30. Sketch of the life of J. W. Shotwell, pioneer lawyer and Civil War veteran.
Uncle Ike Leabo's Deer Scrap—an incident of early Ray county history.
Some Civil War incidents in Richmond.

St. Francois County. Bonne Terre, *Register*
Dec. 17. Recollections of the Civil War in Washington county.
———— Farmington, *Times*
Dec. 17. Historical sketch of Farmington.
———— Flat River, *Lead Belt News*
Dec. 17. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Sarah Stringer, daughter of John A. Smith, Revolutionary soldier who fought with Washington.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News*
Dec. 9. Historical sketch of Miami.
Dec. 30. Sketch of the life of Dr. E. M. Talbott, Confederate veteran and pioneer.
———— ———— *Saline Co. Progress*
Dec. 3. Saline county pioneers—Series of sketches, by Dr. Chastain. See later issues.
———— ———— *Saline Citizen*
Dec. 25. Historic St. Louis.
———— Slater, *Rustler*
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Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Rev. Joab Spencer, pioneer and missionary to the Indians.

Stone County. Crane, *Chronicle*
Dec. 16. The first powder mill in Missouri. Some Stone county history, 1835.

Sullivan County. Milan, *Standard*
Dec. 16. Sketch of the life of Edmund Ash, banker and pioneer.

Texas County, Cabool, *Enterprise*
Dec. 9. Some leaders from the Missouri Ozarks—John S. Phelps.
Dec. 23. Some Civil War leaders from the Missouri Ozarks, by Dr. J. W. Mires.

Vernon County. Nevada, *Post*
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Dec. 10. Some war incidents in the life of W. I. Fisher, personal friend of Major John N. Edwards.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*
Dec. 12. Some facts regarding historic old Steamer Far West now buried in Missouri River.
Dec. 12. "Lincoln and Missouri"—A paper read by Walter B. Stevens at banquet of State Historical Society.

Dec. 20. Historical sketch of two Civil War banners presented to Missouri Historical Society.

Dec. 21. Sketch of the life of Rev. Father Henry Moeller, former president of St. Louis University.

——————— *Republic*

Dec. 14. Tributes to Senator Francis M. Cockrell, by St. Louis friends and associates.

Dec. 19. Historical account of Company I, Confederate company under command of Gen. Francis M. Cockrell.

Florida, Monroe county, the birthplace of Mark Twain—With pictures of the house and monument.

Dec. 26. Historical sketch of Boonville, by Love and Chapin.

——————— *Reedy's Mirror*

Dec. 31. A Forgotten Missourian—Historical sketch of the life and times of James S. Green, United States Senator, 1857-1861.

——————— *The Missouri Mule*

June 1915. Origin of the term "mule" as applied to lawyers. An incident in University of Missouri.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

The Brown-Reynolds Duel, edited by Walter B. Stevens and published by The Franklin Club of St. Louis in 1911, has recently come to our notice. This is the first publication issued under the direction of this club. It deserves well the attention of the lover of the art of fine printing and of the student of the code duello. No expense or trouble was spared in making the work a fitting product of an organization whose objects are "the study and promotion of the various arts pertaining to the production of books, including the occasional publication, but not for profit, of books illustrating these arts." In the words of Hon. F. W. Lehman, president of The Franklin Club of St. Louis, "To print books, as far as possible from materials hitherto unpublished and especially relating to the Mississippi Valley, is the primary motive of this Club." The publication of *The Brown-Reynolds Duel* marks the inception of what promises to be a remarkably valuable and successful series of books on Middle Western history.

The Brown-Reynolds duel in 1856 marks the last bloodshed under the code duello between St. Louisans. Both principals were prominent in St. Louis affairs during that stormy decade in Missouri politics preceding the Civil War and both were later to hold influential public positions. The duel was happily not fatal, Brown being wounded in the leg and Reynolds escaping untouched. Still so strong had public opinion set in against the code, that never again in Missouri history was blood shed in its practice although it was later resorted to several times. The Missouri press condemned the duel and even the high character of Brown and Reynolds did not induce the St. Louis newspapers to feature this affair.

The editor of *The Brown-Reynolds Duel* has presented his subject in a unique and satisfactory way. The completeness of the documentary chronicle and source material suggested

a new treatment. No footnotes or explanatory matter were inserted in the chronicle proper. The letters, papers and clippings relating to the duel were arranged in their chronological order, with guide headings, and were placed on the left-hand pages in italic type. All the newspaper clippings are photo-facsimiles as are also many of the letters. On the right-hand pages the explanatory narrative is set forth in Roman type with indented paragraph captions. The explanatory narrative is in fact not only illustrative of the documentary chronicle in hand but is a well constructed and interesting resume of the history of duelling during the first half of the 19th century with special reference to the Missouri episodes of the code. Much political history of the State is also brought out and valuable biographical sketches are properly inserted. The interesting chapter on duelling in Missouri which appears in the work on "Missouri The Center State," by the same author, contains much which was formerly set forth in this work on the Brown-Reynolds duel. The care taken by the editor of *The Brown-Reynolds Duel* in making his narrative both accurate and readable is obvious. That he succeeded does credit to his ability as a worker and writer. To make literature of history is the goal of many. Success comes to few, and those who succeed do so usually at the cost of accuracy, careful preparation of material, and scientific presentation. Mr. Stevens in *The Brown-Reynolds Duel* has fortunately escaped paying this price.

* * * *

Missouri and Oregon. Of special interest to Missourians is an article on "*The Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Companies*," by Harrison C. Dale, in *The Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for September, 1915. The part Missouri played in the settling of the Oregon country was important. Many expeditions for settling the far Northwest were fitted out and started from this State and hundreds of Missourians emigrated there. One of the most noted companies of this kind was the well known Burnett-Applegate

party of 1843. The leader was Peter Burnett whose residence for years had been at Liberty, Clay county, Missouri, until 1842, when he moved to Weston, Missouri. Peter Burnett was born in Tennessee, was reared in that State and in Missouri, was a merchant and lawyer in Liberty for years, and emigrated with his family to the Oregon country to seek health and wealth. He was one of the early settlers in Oregon, became a member of the "Legislature Committee of Oregon" in 1844, and in 1845 was chosen Judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon.

In 1848 the discovery of gold in California caused Burnett to move there and become a miner. He soon turned from the mine to the forum and established a lucrative law practice. He became a member of the Legislative Assembly, was elected to the Superior Tribunal of California in 1849, and during the same year was elected the first Governor of the State of California. Burnett later retired from law and politics and became one of the influential bankers on the Coast. All these and many other interesting events are woven together in that fascinating book on *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, by Peter H. Burnett.

Mr. Dale in his article has made free use of this work and has gathered data from many other authoritative sources.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS.

Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton, by Prof. C. H. McClure, Head of the History Department in the Warrensburg (Mo.) State Normal School, is the most valuable and scholarly monograph on the great statesman of Missouri and the West that has been published. The period from 1837 to 1844 in Missouri political history is difficult to treat. The establishment of the Bank of Missouri in 1837 marks the beginning of the second period of banking in the State. Going hand in hand with the currency problem was the injection of such fundamental issues as a new State constitution, the organization of local party machinery in Missouri, the Texas question, and the growing personal antagonism to Benton together with the split in the ranks of the Democratic party in Missouri. The mere enumeration of these big questions make apparent the problems that confronted Prof. McClure in compiling this article.

Not only has the author satisfactorily woven his material into a continuous narrative that hangs well together but he has made it interesting and readable. The paper is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Missouri history. Aside from the half dozen of heretofore unknown or dimly perceived questions that have been treated by Prof. McClure, the fundamental position of the author on the bitter and almost fatal struggle of Benton for election in 1844 is new. That Benton's supremacy was tottering long before his defeat in 1850 is now apparent.

* * * *

The second article in this *Review* on *How Missouri Counties, Towns and Streams Were Named*, by David W. Eaton, will be of great service to all. Mr. Eaton has spent years in gathering his data. The value of such a work is obvious. A ready reference for information relating to the origin, meaning and historical associations of the names of Missouri

counties, towns and streams, has long been needed. At present one is forced to wade through perhaps a score of books to ascertain how this or that town or landmark received its name. This labor saving article by Mr. Eaton will be appreciated by all who have felt the past inconvenience in obtaining information along such lines.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

The announcement by R. M. White, president of The State Historical Society of Missouri, of the appointment of a nominating committee to select a larger committee to devise plans for the celebration of the Centennial of Missouri's Statehood, is the first step toward this important and significant celebration. As this committee were named Walter B. Stevens, St. Louis; Purd B. Wright, Kansas City; Jay L. Torrey, Fruitville; Walter Williams, Columbia; R. M. White, Mexico, chairman ex officio; and Floyd C. Shoemaker, Columbia, secretary.

"The committee of five," said Mr. White, "should be guided in its selection of the Centennial Committee by the broadest principles of democracy. The Centennial Committee should be a large one, truly representative of the varied vocations, industries and institutions of the people of this great State. The resolution of the Historical Society creating the committee so specifies. This committee should be appointed soon in order that its members may have time to properly and adequately complete their work. The recent experience of the Indiana Centennial Committee, which began work last summer and has only about eighteen months to finish its labors, will not be repeated in Missouri. To provide a fitting memorial of a state's centennial involves considerations of great significance."

"The story of the State of Missouri is one of the longest, most valuable and truly fascinating tales of any of the commonwealths. Her internal history covers over two centuries of activity; her influence on the Nation is vividly brought to mind by her Benton, Barton, Doniphan, Blair, Schurz, and scores of other sons; her place in literature is established by a Mark Twain and a Eugene Field; her pioneers so largely settled the west that she may well be called the "Mother of the West." Missouri has had a national audience since the day of her incorporation into the United States. The great Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 was appropriately held on Missouri soil. Her struggle for statehood was one of the

most prolonged, important and interesting of its kind in the history of this country, and less than a half century later she again became the bone of contention for both the North and the South."

"These events alone make necessary gigantic labors to appropriately celebrate the Missouri Centennial. Besides a State celebration at some one place there should be held celebrations in each county, city and town. The Missouri Centennial should be so well observed that a Missouri school boy or girl need no longer be ignorant of some of the big things in the State's life. Pageants, the handmaid of history, will lend themselves towards visualizing the events of the past. Literature, accurately and popularly written, should be produced for both its present and future worth. The Centennial Committee of The State Historical Society of Missouri will have important problems to work out. The celebration will demand the brains and State patriotism of all Missourians to do it justice. It is a big work and will call for the aid of the men, women and children of "Imperial Missouri."

"Missouri can well be proud of her history, and she may be congratulated in having planned her Centennial Celebration in sufficient time to insure success. Her people are ready to perform a great labor of love, the Celebration of Missouri's Centennial."

The committee of five held its first meeting at the Planters Hotel in St. Louis on March 11. Among those present were Messrs. R. M. White, Walter B. Stevens, Purd B. Wright, Isidor Loeb, Walter Williams, Jay L. Torrey, and Floyd C. Shoemaker. The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri be appointed to be known as the Missouri State Centennial Committee of 1,000 the membership of which shall be selected as follows: first, five representatives from each of the 114 counties and the city of St. Louis, and second, members from the State at large, representative of the vocations, industries and institutions of the people of Missouri, under the direction of which committee arrangements shall be made for the celebration of the Centennial of Missouri.

It was decided to hold the first meeting of the Missouri State Centennial Committee of 1,000 this fall at Kansas City. From the interest already shown in Missouri in the Centennial Celebration there is not reason to doubt that it will be a monumental success. The correspondence coming from all quarters of the State is already voluminous, showing the interest of Missourians in the great work under way. This correspond-

ence is both welcome and profitable. Suggestions of worth are made, which will be of great service in planning the Centennial Celebration. Space does not permit the reproduction of this mass of manuscript literature but the following suggestive letter from Walter Ridgway, author, and editor of the *Howard County Advertiser* (Fayette, Missouri), is sufficiently illustrative of its value and of the interest already aroused in the Missouri Centennial.

Fayette, Mo., Jan. 26, 1916.

Editor Missouri Historical Review,
Columbia, Mo.
Dear Sir:—

I was very glad to see the State Historical Society at its recent meeting take an initial step toward the celebration of the Hundreth Birthday of the State of Missouri in 1921. I thought that our State Legislature two years ago should have taken such a step and should have made some preliminary arrangements for such a celebration, and I wrote an article for the Kansas City Star urging some action at that time which the editor kindly published and commented upon.

The completion of one hundred years of history is an event of moment and a reason sufficient in itself for celebration, but there is a greater reason why we should begin early to make plans for the celebration of the State's One Hundreth Birthday five years hence. Missouri was the first state hewn from the primeval forests of the Mississippi Valley west of the great river. It was the pioneer of pioneers. It was both the mother and the father of the great empire lying west of the Mississippi River and, doubtless, has contributed more of her sons and daughters to the western states and territories than any other state. A celebration of her hundreth birthday, therefore, should interest not only Missouri but the scores of other commonwealths who are indebted to her for her gift of brain and brawn. Doubtless, the committee appointed by the State Historical Society will have many suggestions as to the most fitting way in which the State should celebrate. Looking at it from the standpoint of one who is interested in the matter of publicity, I feel that it should be made an occasion for an advertising campaign for the State and its resources and its institutions, and as such it can be made more profitable that the great World's Fair of 1904.

A feature of the celebration should be, it seems to me, a home-coming of her sons and daughters who have wandered away blindly, no doubt. This may be made a leading feature of the celebration and may be the means of drawing many people here who will become citizens. Such a home-coming might have a great closing

program of some sort in one or more of the large cities or in connection with the State Fair at Sedalia, where, undoubtedly, should be read a state poem or song worthy of the State, and expressive of the life and the light of the State. Then, too, a permanent and lasting feature of this celebration should be a new State history and a new history of the literature and of the writers of the State.

Missouri will need five years to get ready for such an event. The State has to set about to get the house in order. When company is coming some cleaning, and dusting and scrubbing and polishing must be done and some clean linens must be brought out. It might be well in this case to get a brand new family Bible, a state constitution, if you please, to have the family well regulated before the guests arrive. It is equally important that the roads leading to the front gate should be worked. A great system of state highways for the guests to travel over when they come will delight the guests and will add to the pleasure of the hosts.

These and many more things might be suggested to the committee who shall arrange for the birthday party. Howard county, the mother of more counties than all the other counties, who has, also, sent her full quota of pioneers to the Golden West, and whose history is contemporaneous with the history of the State, joins heartily in the preparations for the home-coming and celebration.

Very truly yours,

WALTER RIDGWAY.

The selection by the Missouri Centennial Committee of Five of the members at large of the Missouri State Centennial Committee of 1,000, is now under way. The widest publicity is desired in order to enable the State Centennial Committee of Five to obtain full information in regard to persons and measures.

PERSONAL.

HON. GEORGE E. CHURCH, former representative from Bates county, died December 6, 1915. Mr. Church was born December 30, 1857, at Covington Center, Wyoming county, New York. Coming to Missouri in 1868, he soon became one of the substantial farmers of Bates county. Agriculture was not his sole concern, however, and his keen interest in public questions caused him to be chosen to represent his county in the State Legislature, an office which he held from 1904 to 1906.

* * * *

JUDGE JAMES E. HAZELL, Missouri jurist and former State Senator, died at his home in Jefferson City, December 28, 1915. Judge Hazell was a conspicuous example of that type of self educated men so common in the Middle West a half century ago. He was born at Old Palestine, now Speed, Cooper county, January 15, 1847. His father, an old soldier and live stock dealer, conducted a hotel at Tipton and here the boy met the most prominent lawyers of Central Missouri. He cherished an ambition to become a lawyer, but his father was a man of scanty means and could not furnish the necessary funds for him to attend college. After leaving the public schools at Boonville he worked at various occupations saving his earnings for college, for he had not yet given up his ambitions. Later he entered the University of Michigan, where he was graduated from the law department in 1873. Returning to Tipton for the practice of law, he was twice elected prosecuting attorney of Moniteau county, from 1878 to 1886. It was while living in Tipton that he became a candidate for the State senate and was elected. In 1900 when Judge Shackleford was elected to Congress, Judge Hazell was appointed circuit judge and was afterwards re-elected to the same office. After retiring from the bench Judge Hazell took up his residence in Jefferson City, where he was associated with the law firm of Hazell, Lay and Mosby. In 1903 it was Judge Hazell who called the special grand jury to make the famous "boodle investigations" in connection with the preceding Legislature on the strength of revelations made by John A. Lee, then lieutenant governor.

* * * *

JUDGE H. C. MCDOUGAL, lawyer, soldier and historian, died December 17, 1915, in Los Angeles, Cal. Born in Marion county, Va., (now West Va.) Dec. 9, 1844, he was just entering manhood at the opening of the Civil War. He thus received only the limited education afforded in the common schools of the day being deprived of the collegiate course upon which he was just about to enter at the outbreak

of the war. At the age of sixteen he espoused the Union cause and throughout the war fought in Western Virginia and on the upper Potomac. In June 1866 President Johnson tendered him a commission as major in the regular army, which was declined. Soon after the close of the war young McDougal came to Missouri to visit his father who had located in Daviess county. It was during this visit that he saw the possibilities of the West and decided to cast his lot with the people of this new country. Coming to Gallatin in 1867 he began the study of law in the office of Judge Robert L. Dodge, and the following year was admitted to the bar. In the practice of law he became associated with such men as Marcus A. Low, with whom he formed a partnership in 1874, Col. John H. Shanklin, and finally, after his removal to Kansas City in 1884, with Gov. T. T. Crittenden. It was as city counselor of Kansas City that Judge McDougal made a name for himself in the city's annals. He conducted the city's case in the acquisition of the National Water Works plant, a victory which he counted as his best achievement. Although a man of marked ability Judge McDougal had neither time nor inclination to engage in politics, preferring to devote his energies to the practice of his profession and to history and literature, a field in which he always had a keen love and rare talent. The fame of Judge McDougal perhaps rests quite as much upon his work as a historian as upon his success in law. His rare advantage of acquaintanceship with the men who made American history in the period following the war, combined with a keen insight into human character, specially equipped him for the work and give his writings added value. One of his best known books is a volume of personal recollections entitled "1844 to 1909." He was recognized as an authority on the history of the Central West and especially of Missouri. Judge McDougal was a strong supporter of The State Historical Society of Missouri and was a member of the board of trustees at the time of his death.

* * * *

HON. G. PITMAN SMITH, lawyer and legislator, died at his home in Montgomery City, December 9, 1915. He was born in Pike county, March 8, 1849, a descendant of early Virginia and Connecticut settlers. His father, Rev. George Smith, an itinerant Methodist preacher, came to Montgomery City at the opening of the Civil War and became pastor of the church which has just been organized there. The boy received his early education in the public schools of Montgomery and St. Charles counties and at High Hill Academy, High Hill, Mo. About 1870 he went to St. Louis and began the study of law in the office of Trusten Polk, former governor of Missouri. Admitted to the bar in 1871 he was elected to the State legislature from St. Louis county in 1876, and for four years beginning 1877 he was one of the attorneys for the state insurance department. The success of the young lawyer caused him to be chosen by the Wabash railroad as their attorney west of the Mississippi River, a position which he held for thirty-seven years. The *History of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* has this to say of his ability as an attorney: "Such was the ability and address of the young lawyer that he played no inconsequential part in the civic, political and judicial affairs of the metropolis."

* * * *

HON. MCDERMOTT TURNER, legislator and banker, died in a Chicago hospital, January 27, 1916. Born in Kahoka, Mo., May 12, 1886, he early became interested in public affairs and was chosen to represent Clark county in the State legislature. As a member of the 46th General Assembly he had the distinction of being the youngest member who had ever served in that capacity. He was made chairman of the justice of the peace committee and served as a member of the railroad and improvements, swamp lands and drainage and levee committees. At the close of his term of office Mr. Turner turned his attention to banking. At the time of his death he was cashier of the People's Bank in Wyaconda.

GENERAL.

"*James H. Shields: An Appreciation,*" by General John B. O'Meara, was published in *The Journal of the American Irish Society* for 1914-15. The important positions held by this statesman of the West, who served three American commonwealths in the United States Senate, makes his life of interest to many. Missouri, Illinois and Minnesota vie in doing honor to his memory. This State has erected a fitting monument and statue to him in Carrollton, Missouri, a reproduction of which is found in Gen. O'Meara's article.

* * * *

An "Epistle or Diary of the Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand," reprinted in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, for December, 1915, throws some sidelights on the religious conditions in St. Louis and Upper Louisiana in 1806. Father Durand was a French Trappist who came to this country in 1805. He remained in the West until 1820 and his diary is filled with important historical data.

* * * *

The Journal of History for January 1916, published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Lamoni, Iowa), continues the interesting and valuable article on "Current Reports and Opinion of early Days" relating to the history of the Mormons in Missouri. The articles are made up largely of extracts from Missouri newspapers of the '30s and of copies of letters from prominent Missourians. They are helpful contributions to the Mormon literature of the State.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price $1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to a thousand members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. They treat of subjects that lovers of Missouri are interested in. They are full of new information and are not hackneyed or trite. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

In addition to the monographs, the *Review* contains a list of books recently published by Missourians or on Missouri, and a list of Missouri historical articles that have appeared in the newspapers of the State. The last is an aid to teachers, editors and writers, and will become even more valuable with age.

Departing from the custom adopted by most historical societies, this journal contains reviews of only those books and articles that relate to Missouri. This concentration makes possible a more thorough and, to Missourians, a more interesting and valuable historical contribution than could otherwise be obtained.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their section of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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MISSOURI AND THE SANTA FE TRADE.

F. F. STEPHENS.

First Article.

ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

To perpetuate in scholarly and accurate manner the history of Missouri's great inland commerce with the early Southwest, has this series of valuable articles been written. The romance stories of the Santa Fe Trade are legion. Exploited well and widely by newspapers and popular histories they have today become household tales in the homes along the Missouri and the Arkansas. Another side of the Trade, however, has received little attention. This is the economic and legal. Missourians did not engage in this commerce merely through love of adventure, or to struggle with nature over hundreds of miles of plains and desert, to fight treacherous Indians, and wrangle with Mexican officials. Excitement was always luring the pioneer, but love of adventure was not the most powerful magnet. Hope of reward also was present. The big profits, the economic fruits, these induced the bankers, merchants and traders in Missouri to stand back of the Trade.

Dr. F. F. Stephens has investigated this other side of the Trade. The results of his research and study unfold information and new phases of this commercial enterprise of Missouri, never before developed. The value of this work rests not only on its pioneer character, but also on its accuracy. Source material, contemporary records are the foundations of all important statements. No articles of greater value and accuracy have been printed in the Review than these.—The Editor.

1792-1821.

Communication between the Spanish settlements in New Mexico and the French settlements on the Upper Mississippi was not unknown in the eighteenth century but was infrequent. Both the Spaniards and the French seem to have been interested chiefly in establishing and preserving their influence over the intervening tribes of Indians.[1] Even when trade was one of the objects of the French expeditions, Spanish suspicion naturally tended to discourage commercial relations.[2] About twenty years after the French cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1762, the Spanish officials sent Pedro Vial to open up a direct route between the newly established city of St. Louis and the city of Santa Fe. This was done in the years 1792-1793, "the first march overland on substantially the route which afterwards became celebrated as the Santa Fe trail."[3] It does not appear that any commercial intercourse sprang up between the two cities as a result of Vial's work as pathfinder.

Coincident with the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, and during the first few years following, several vain attempts were made to establish commercial relations between Missouri and Santa Fe.[4] These efforts, usually an outgrowth of fur-trading with the Indians, generally ended by the trader finding himself a prisoner in Spanish hands. The Spanish authorities dared not let the prisoners return to their American homes, because it was recognized that the knowledge carried back with them would encourage many future similar expeditions, resulting in American expansion southwestward and American control of the intervening tribes of Indians. It was just at this period of Spanish hostility and suspicion that Lieutenant Z. M. Pike made his

[1] *Stoddard's Sketches*, 45-46.

[2] See Stoddard's account of the French traders "to the Mexican mountains," sometime before 1763; *Sketches*, 147. The expedition here referred to was probably one of those described by H. E. Bolton in his *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, University of California *Publications in History*, III, 66-68.

[3] Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, xxiv. On pp. 350-358 of this same volume is a translation of Vial's diary from Santa Fe to St. Louis. See also Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 133.

[4] Described briefly in Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II, 490-500.

famous semi-official expedition to the southwest, 1806-1807. Although not directly sent out by the United States government,[5] the value of his contribution to American knowledge of the geography and people of New Mexico was fully recognized in the United States, both publicly and privately. Pike's "Account" of his journey, first published in 1810, showed how feasible was the route from Missouri to the Spanish settlements, and became the inspiration of many of the later traders.

Two years after the publication of Pike's narrative occurred the most formidable of the early attempts to establish commercial relations with Santa Fe. This was led by Robert McNight, James Baird, and Samuel Chambers. The whole party, consisting of twelve persons, was seized by the Spanish authorities, and imprisoned for nine years, or until Mexico won its independence from Spain.

The United States government never took any very active measures to compel Spain to release these prisoners. The first official action was taken as a result of the representation made of the affair by John Scott, Delegate from the Territory of Missouri, to the Secretary of State, (Monroe) early in 1817, four years or more after the imprisonment of the men. Monroe thereupon, February 8, 1817, wrote to De Onis, Spanish ambassador to the United States, asking that he give his early attention to the subject, and suggesting that a passport be sent overland from St. Louis to the unfortunate prisoners. De Onis replied a few days later that he had no authority to issue a passport, but that he would transmit the documents in the case to the Viceroy of Mexico.

Nearly a year went by, when Scott, on December 29, 1817, again called the attention of the State Department to the case. He gave a brief history of the expedition, and mentioned the names of ten members of the party, some of whom,

[5]Pike was a protege and emissary of General James Wilkinson. Professor I. J. Cox, in his careful and interesting study, entitled *The Early Exploration of Louisiana*, (Cincinnati, 1906) concludes that Pike was sent to the Southwest to obtain information to be used by Wilkinson as a part of one of his secret schemes for a proposed filibustering invasion of Mexico. Although Pike had no knowledge of this secret conspiracy, he did know that his main purpose was to spy out New Mexico, with Santa Fe as his destination.

he said, had brothers in St. Louis who would go to the assistance of the imprisoned men if they could get passports. J. Q. Adams, now Secretary of State, transmitted Scott's letter to De Onis and asked that the latter take further measures to secure the release of the prisoners. De Onis assured Adams, in reply, that he had already called the attention of his government to the case, but that he would make another representation. He also renewed his former declaration that he had no power to issue passports. With this letter De Onis enclosed a copy of his dispatch to the Viceroy of New Spain giving a resume of the case and asking early action.[6]

This seems to have ended all official action on the part of the United States Government in behalf of the prisoners. It seems quite insufficient,[7] but there were at least two extenuating circumstances. In the first place, Spanish power in Mexico had almost disappeared, outside of a very few of the largest cities. The whole country was in such a revolutionary state that even with the best will in the world it is doubtful whether the authorities at the city of Mexico had power to intervene in the case. In the second place, other affairs of much greater national importance were being discussed between the representatives of Spain and the United States; coincident with the last correspondence between Adams and De Onis, mentioned above, Amelia Island had been seized by American troops, and the question of its retention, as well as that of the American relations to the Floridas, was causing much anxiety to the Monroe administration.

TRADE ESTABLISHED UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

Soon after these abortive attempts to secure freedom for American traders occurred two important events in the development of the commercial intercourse with the Southwest. In 1821 Missouri was admitted as a state into the Union, and in the same year Mexico began its career as an

[6]This correspondence is in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 207-209.

[7]Chittenden, in his *American Fur Trade*, II, 497, note, declares: "This disgraceful affair will always remain a blot upon the history of American diplomacy."

independent nation. The admission of Missouri was the natural consequence of the great movement of population westward, in the early years of the nineteenth century. The movement into Missouri had been strong before the War of 1812, though it gained much greater headway in the years from 1815 to 1820. Of special importance to the later development of the Santa Fe trade was the fact that in numbers the population up the Missouri River, in the Boone's Lick country, was rapidly outstripping other portions of the state; and not content with settling down there the immigrants were pushing on a hundred miles further to the vicinity of the later town of Independence.[8]

These frontiersmen were a hardy, aggressive, venturesome class, and many of them in their former states of Kentucky or Tennessee had been familiar since infancy with Indian alarms and with the trials of frontier poverty. The reputed hardship of a trip to the far Southwest had no terror for them. In fact, just as many of the young men of the West a decade or two earlier started out in life for themselves by making a trip down the Mississippi River, so now it soon became common for many of the young men of western Missouri to establish their separate homes from the proceeds of a successful commercial journey to New Mexico. To such adventurers, the admission of Missouri with definite boundaries was a call to share the opportunities and dangers of her furthest limits.

Mexican independence meant at least a partial reversal of the former Spanish policy of exclusiveness and suspicious intolerance of foreigners. To the editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1823, with his faith in the efficacy of republican institutions to break down national jealousies, the fact of Mexican independence appeared to be the opportunity for the development of commercial intercourse.[9]

Simultaneously with the admission of Missouri and the establishment of Mexican independence came the first really

[8] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, 37, 42, 71.

[9] "Monarchy bound in chains and threw into prison all those of our unfortunate countrymen whom accident or business brought within its reach; while republicanism extends the hand of friendship and receives them with the welcome of hospitality." *Mo. Intel.*, April 22, 1823.

successful overland commercial intercourse between the American and Mexican frontiers. The man who organized and managed this first expedition was Captain William Becknell. The expedition was evidently temptingly profitable, for in the following year three parties left Missouri for Santa Fe. For the ten years after 1822 the value of the trade rapidly increased. The average annual increase in the amount of profits during this period was about forty per cent, though some years showed a decrease.

This fluctuation was due largely to the effect of Indian depredations on the caravans, a fat year for the Indians indicating a lean year for the traders the following season, and *vice versa*. It was very seldom that a company of traders made the round trip without at least a brush with the Indians, and occasionally the latter made way with a considerable share of the caravan's horses and mules, or even killed the traders themselves. Such newspaper notices as the following were not infrequent:

"We regret to have to state that the company whose departure for Santa Fe we mentioned about four weeks since, have sustained the loss of nearly all their horses. Some Osage Indians, conjectured to be about twenty, followed them eighty miles undiscovered, with a view, as appeared in the sequel, of committing outrage. On the morning of the first instant, at about dawn, while all the company were asleep except two, who, not apprehending danger, had retired from an advanced position to the campfires, they were alarmed by the discharge of guns, and the yells of the savages."

The notice went on to say that the Indians drove off forty-five horses, which were all but eight, that they were unsuccessfully chased for ten miles, that the attack took place three hundred miles from the Missouri settlements, and that six men at once returned for horses and "are already on their way back, so that the enterprise, although subject to vexatious delay and disappointment, will not be defeated by it." [10]

Another obstacle to the success of the traders was the exorbitant rate of tariff duties imposed by the New Mexican authorities, and the indefinite character of the customs regulations. Goods were entered at the custom house without

[10] *Mo. Intel.*, June 17, 1823.

any regard to their invoice prices, valued at from 10 to 150 per cent above cost, and charged a duty with varying rates on that valuation.[11] In addition it was universally suspected by the Americans that the duties were arbitrarily and illegally imposed by the governor of New Mexico.[12]

BENTON FORCES CONGRESSIONAL ATTENTION.

To gain protection from the Indians as well as from the cupidity of the Mexican authorities, the traders could naturally expect little assistance from the government of Missouri. Knowing that such assistance must come from the national government, they sent several communications to the latter in the year 1824. All probably originated at the suggestion of Senator Benton, who was always alive to the interests of the people of his state, and who, as editor of the St. Louis Enquirer years before, had declared his faith in the possibilities of a commercial intercourse with Santa Fe.[13]

Quite likely, then, it was at Benton's suggestion that Governor Alexander McNair wrote to Secretary Adams, April 27, 1824, the first official communication to the national government in behalf of the Santa Fe trade.[14] A few days later, upon motion of Representative John Scott (also a close friend of Benton's in 1824) the House of Representatives passed a resolution calling upon the President for information "in relation to the intercourse and trade now carried on between the people of the United States (and, particularly, the people of the State of Missouri) and the Mexican pro-

[11] *Mo. Intel.*, Nov. 4, 1825. *Ark. Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1825.

[12] Augustus Storrs, one of the traders, gave as the evidence for the suspicions of the Americans, the ignorance of the best informed citizens of the province as to the existence of a legal duty, the belief of a member of the provincial Congress that the duty was illegal, the fact that the custom house officer could produce no commission authorizing him to collect the duty, and the declaration of the governor of New Mexico in 1824 that the duty would be doubled the following year. *Sen. Doc.* 7, 18th Cong., 2nd Ses.

[13] *Mo. Intel.*, Jan. 25, 1825. The congressional action in 1825 in regard to the Santa Fe trade was freely attributed in Missouri to Benton. See an article in the *Mo. Intel.*, May 28, 1825, quoted from the *Mo. Advocate*.

[14] McNair was in Washington on personal and political business. His term of office as governor of Missouri was about to expire and he desired some appointive office. Shortly afterwards he was appointed United States Agent to the Osage Indians. He and Benton were jointly engaged in 1824 in a great political fight against Senator Barton.

vinces; how and by what route that trade or intercourse is carried on; in what it consists, the distances, etc.; the nations of Indians through which it passes; their dispositions, whether pacific or otherwise; the advantages resulting, or likely to result, from that trade or intercourse." [15]

In answer to that request, President Monroe sent a copy of McNair's letter, which he said contained all the information so far collected "in relation to these subjects." This letter, emphasizing the risk of their lives and property to those engaged in the trade, declared that protection should be furnished by the national government, that the Indians should be made responsible for the depredations they were committing, and that the most effectual way of restraining them was to thoroughly impress them with a sense of the superiority of the national government. Governor McNair also suggested the establishment of a United States agent at Santa Fe with consular powers.[16]

No record exists of any further action taken on the subject in that session of Congress, though Benton could report to his constituents that some foundation for later measures had been laid. "A garrison higher up the Arkansas river, treaties with the intermediate tribes of Indians, and a commercial agent in Santa Fe, are among the contemplated measures for the protection of that trade." [17] The Senator saw, however, that to secure this protection from the United States government, it was necessary for him to have more definite information. On his return to Missouri in the following summer he interviewed "many inhabitants—who had been personally engaged in the trade," and who were naturally ready to give him their active co-operation. Petitions for assistance from the national government were drawn up and circulated among them for their signatures.[18]

Benton returned to Washington that autumn fortified with a large amount of personal information. He evidently

[15] *Annals*, 18th Cong., First Ses., p. 2703.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Mo. Intel.*, July 10, 1824.

[18] Printed as *Ex. Papers* 79, 18th Cong., 2nd Ses. Along with the petition was printed a letter from Alphonso Wetmore giving some historical notes on the trade.

intended to bring the subject to the attention of Congress at once, but on December 13 he wrote to the editor of the Missouri Intelligencer that he had been delayed in his plans by the non-arrival of the petitions. "They contain a body of facts upon which we can commence legislation with a good prospect of success." [19] On the next day, however, the petitions were introduced and referred, upon Benton's motion, to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which he was chairman.[20] About three weeks later he also introduced a letter which he had received from Augustus Storrs, former postmaster at Franklin, Missouri, (the first headquarters of the Santa Fe trade.) This was a detailed description by an educated and responsible person—one who had been personally engaged in the trade the previous summer, of the conditions under which the commerce with new Mexico could be carried on. The letter had been written at Benton's special request and in reply to definite questions which he had proposed. It was ordered printed and was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.[21]

Both the petition and the letter emphasized the dangers from the Indians, both declared that treaties ought to be concluded by the United States government with the tribes intervening between Missouri and New Mexico, both asked for the establishment of a military garrison at the crossing on the Arkansas river to help restrain the Indians, and both suggested the marking out of a road upon which the right of an unmolested passage should be secured. The petition recited that the Indians "presented the only obstacle to the successful prosecution of the trade upon a large scale," while Storrs, though recognizing the difficulties in this regard, believed that there was "more reasonable apprehension of embarrassment" to the trade from the Mexicans than from the Indians. Together the two documents made up the

[19] *Mo. Intel.*, Jan. 25, 1825.

[20] The petitions must have arrived in just the nick of time, for on the 13th Senator Barton had introduced a resolution referring the subject to the Committee on Military Affairs. *Niles' Register*, 27, 250. Naturally Benton desired the subject referred to his committee.

[21] Printed as *Sen. Doc.*, 7, 18th Cong., 2nd Ses. Is also in *Niles' Register*, 27, 312-316.

"foundation of fact" which Benton had desired in order to secure favorable action from Congress.

TRAIL SURVEYED IN 1825.

Within a few days after the introduction of Storrs's letter, the Committee on Indian Affairs had drawn up and reported favorably a bill providing for the appointment of commissioners to mark out a road from Missouri to the international boundary line in the direction of Santa Fe.[22] The continuation of the road through Mexican territory to New Mexico was authorized, under such regulations as the President might conclude with the Mexican government. The commissioners were to secure the consent of the Indians, both for the establishment of the road and for its unmolested use by the traders. For the various purposes of the bill, $30,000 was appropriated, of which $20,000 was to be used for treating with the Indians. The Committee based its recommendation for $10,000 for the road upon a calculation that the work would require the services for six months of three commissioners, one clerk, one surveyor, two chain-carriers, six laborers to throw up mounds, and fifteen riflemen to act as guards and hunters.[23]

In presenting the bill Senator Benton again pointed out the losses to which the trade was subjected by Indian depredations on the way, and by arbitrary exactions on the part of the Mexican officials. For relief, the traders needed the right of an unmolested passage, and the protection of American agents at Santa Fe and Chihuahua. Since the President had it within his power to appoint such agents (with the ratification of the Senate) at any time, this bill simply undertook to secure a safe passage over the prairies. As to the petition for the establishment of a military post near the place where the Arkansas river was crossed by the caravans, the Senate Committee thought the request a reasonable one, but decided that this also could be granted by the President, without legislative aid.[24]

[22] Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates*, Appendix, 106.

[23] Benton to Nathaniel Patten, *Mo. Intel.*, March 1, 1825.

[24] Benton to "The Citizens of Missouri," March 3, 1825, in *Mo. Intel.*, April 5, 1825.

Considerable opposition of a constitutional nature developed in the Senate against the second section of the bill, providing for the continuation of the road to New Mexico. It was argued that if it were unconstitutional for Congress to provide for the building of roads within a state, it was even more so to make such provision for a road within the territory of a foreign power. This was answered by the statement that the bill provided not for the construction but simply for the marking out of a road, and even that was to be done only after negotiations with the Indians and with Mexico. The attempt to strike out the second section was defeated,[25] and the bill was passed and sent to the House.[26]

No record exists of any debate in the House of Representatives over the bill. It was passed March 2 without amendment, and was approved by the President the following day. Within two weeks the incoming President appointed Benjamin H. Reeves and George C. Sibley of Missouri, and Pierre Menard of Illinois as the commissioners to mark out the road. All three men were well known throughout the West. Reeves had been a member of the Kentucky legislature, had later moved to Missouri and been a member of the territorial legislature, became a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and was elected state auditor in 1821 and lieutenant-governor in 1824.[27]

[25] *Register of Debates*, I, 356-361.

[26] Benton immediately notified his friends in Missouri of his success in the Senate. In a letter to the editor of the *Mo. Intel.*, Jan. 27, 1825, he wrote: "You will see by the papers of this day, that our important bill for a road to Mexico has passed the Senate by a triumphant majority. I expect that it will also pass the House of Representatives. For this gratifying success in a measure of so much interest in Missouri, and having so much to dread from its novelty, we are indebted to the *solid foundation of facts* which was laid at Franklin last October, in the 'ANSWERS' of Mr. Storrs, and the petitions which were then drawn up. I applied also to the members of the Legislature at St. Charles to send a memorial on the same subject, which has not yet arrived; but I still hope that it may come in time to assist Mr. Scott in the House of Representatives." *Mo. Intel.*, March 1, 1825.

The memorial to which Benton refers was passed unanimously by the Missouri Senate Dec. 15, 1824, but there is no record of its passage in the House. *Senate Journal*, 1824-1825, 108; *Mo. Intel.*, Jan. 18, 1825. The memorial is a strong statement of the value of the trade, not only to Missouri but to the entire country, and a plea for protection, especially against the excessive duties.

[27] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, 149, 209; *Mo. Intel.*, Oct. 3, 1835.

Sibley was a fur-trader and had been a United States factor at Fort Osage previous to the abolition of the factory system.[28] Menard, the third member of the commission as originally constituted, had been prominent in Illinois for several years, had the reputation of being particularly influential with the Indians and was thus considered well fitted for such service. He was negotiating at this very time for their removal from the region north of the Ohio to reservations west of the Mississippi, and could not serve on the commission. Therefore a fellow-citizen of Illinois, Thomas Mather,[29] was later substituted in his place.

By the latter part of June, the commissioners had organized their expedition, secured their assistants and gathered together their supplies, and on July 4 they left Franklin for Fort Osage.[30] Work was begun from the latter place July 17, and completed to the Arkansas river by September 11, 1825. In the following summer, consent having been secured from the Mexican government, the route was surveyed from the border on the Arkansas to San Fernando, the nearest of the Mexican settlements.[31]

The commissioners also conducted successful negotiations with two tribes of Indians, the Osages and the Kanzas. With each of these a treaty was concluded providing an unmolested passage for commerce through their territory. In return each tribe was to receive merchandise and money from the United States amounting to $800.[32]

In the meantime, President Adams had appointed United States consuls to reside at Santa Fe and Chihuahua, Augustus Storrs and Joshua Pilcher respectively.[33] The other point left to executive authority, the establishment of a military post at the crossing on the Arkansas, was forcibly

[28] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V, 66.

[29] *Ibid.*, XIX, 197.

[30] *Mo. Intel.*, May 28 and July 9, 1825.

[31] The *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society, 117-125, contains the field notes of the surveyor of this expedition, Joseph C. Brown. An article by William R. Manning in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 516, describes the negotiations between the United States and Mexico over the survey of the road beyond the Arkansas.

[32] *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 610, 672. The treaties were ratified by the U. S. Senate May 9, 1826.

[33] *Niles' Register*, XXVIII., 44. Pilcher was a prominent fur trader.

presented by Senator Benton in a letter to the Secretary of War, March 18, 1825. Secretary Barbour replied that information on this matter was being collected, by which he might be enabled to make an intelligent recommendation to the president.[34]

On the whole, it seemed in 1825 that the general government had begun a policy leading to ample protection of the overland trade. Missouri papers and speakers were quick to commend this evidence of good will, and it was freely prophesied that great advantages would accrue to Missouri and to the whole Mississippi valley. The amount of traffic, that barometer of trade conditions, doubled in 1825 and tripled in 1826 over 1824.

ST. LOUIS MERCHANTS PETITION CONGRESS.

It soon became evident, however, that tariff conditions in New Mexico remained unfavorable. Traders returning in the autumn of 1825 complained of the heavy duties imposed upon them,[35] a situation which should be remedied, they asserted, by a treaty between the United States and Mexico. Another solution of the problem appeared in a "letter from a highly respectable source to a Senator of the United States," written at Santa Fe, February 9, 1826. The author of this letter believed that the New Mexican consumption of American cotton goods might be nearly doubled if the very high tax were reduced to a reasonable rate, and he thought this could be accomplished by making St. Louis a port of entry and delivery. "The duty on our white cotton stuffs," he wrote, "the kind most in demand, is *ad valorem*; but inasmuch as the officer of the customs here cannot know with any certainty the actual cost of goods at St. Louis, for want of properly authenticated invoices, the law requires him to value all white goods of that description at fifty cents per yard, and thereupon to tax the duty.[36]

As a matter of fact, the merchants of St. Louis had already, November 13, 1825, drawn up a memorial to Congress

[34] *Mo. Intel.*, July 2, 1825.
[35] *Ark. Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1825; *Mo. Intel.*, Oct. 21, 1825.
[36] *Ark. Gazette*, July 11, 1826.

to make their city a port of entry and delivery.[37] Their statement did not mention directly or indirectly the Santa Fe trade, but it was generally believed that the establishment of a port of entry at St. Louis would facilitate that trade. This idea had been expressed by a writer for a St. Louis paper the previous summer, when he said, "Our means of obtaining the articles suited to the trade are now easy, and will no doubt be rendered much more so by making St. Louis a port of entry."[38]

When Congress met in December, Senator Benton submitted the memorial from the merchants, and it was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce.[39] This Committee complicated the situation, as far as St. Louis was concerned, by reporting a bill March 20 for the establishment of ports of entry and delivery at *three* new western cities, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. When the bill came up for discussion in May, considerable opposition developed and it was finally postponed to the next session of Congress. The chief objection urged against it was the large number of additional revenue officers which it would create, thus adding to the executive patronage.[40]

PROTECTION DEMANDED FROM INDIANS.

In the meantime the Indians resumed their thieving raids upon the traders. The treaties of 1825 generally prevented any serious later trouble with the Osages and Kanzas, but the Pawnees and Comanches continued troublesome. The former lived within the United States, but their territory was not crossed by the Santa Fe road, and so the commissioners under the law of 1825, not regarding them as "an intervening tribe," had not felt at liberty to conclude a treaty with them. The Comanches were beyond the Arkansas river in Mexican territory, unquestionably beyond any jurisdiction of the United States. The latter tribe was regarded by the traders as the worst nuisance on the prairies.

[37] *Sen. Doc.*, 9, 19th Cong., 1st Ses.; *Mo. Intel.*, Feb. 8, 1826.
[38] *Mo. Intel.*, May 28, 1825, quoted from the *Mo. Advocate.*
[39] *Mo. Intel.*, Feb. 1, 1826.
[40] *Register of Debates*, II, 705-708. Senator Benton of course favored the bill while Senator Barton voted against it.

Ordinarily these Indians confined their activities to an attempt to stampede and make way with the horses and mules belonging to the caravans, though upon occasion they did not hesitate to attack and kill the traders themselves.[41]

In his biennial message to the General Assembly of Missouri, November 21, 1826, Governor John Miller declared that it was evident that a further degree of protection than that authorized by the congressional act of 1825 was necessary. He recommended Benton's former suggestion of the establishment of a military post at the crossing of the Arkansas to keep in check the lawless tribes within the American boundaries. A corresponding arrangement on the part of Mexico would provide an efficient defence all the way from Missouri to Santa Fe. "When we consider the vast expenditures which the government of the United States cheerfully encounters for the protection of maritime commerce—a policy correct and necessary, it would seem that the expense of such a post, as is spoken of on the Arkansas river, with an escort of 50 or 60 men, might readily be encountered for the protection of our inland trade with Mexico." [42]

The Missouri legislature took no action on this portion of the governor's message, except to refer it to the committee on the militia. When Congress met a few days later, however, Senator Benton sent to Secretary Barbour that portion of Governor Miller's message recommending the establishment of a mounted military force at the crossing of the Arkansas, and expressed the hope that this solution of the Indian problem might now be tried.[43] About the same time, Senator Barton introduced a resolution instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of establishing such a military post.[44]

The military committee referred the resolution to Barbour, who in turn referred it to General Jacob Brown, ranking officer of the army. The latter reported his views briefly January 10, 1827. He called attention to the nature of the

[41] *Mo. Intel.*, April 14, Oct. 26, 1826; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 5th ed., I, 26-27.

[42] *Sen. Jour.*, 4th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 15-16.

[43] *Mo. Intel.*, Feb. 22, 1827.

[44] *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1827.

service required, the protection of parties of traders; this made it essential that the military aid should be of a different character than that of a fixed garrison of infantry. He also mentioned the difficulties of supplying and reinforcing a garrison so far removed from the resources of the country. "Should the object in view, however," he reported, "by its importance, seem to justify such a measure, I should recommend that two companies of infantry, supported by two other companies of mounted troops, be dispatched to some eligible position on or near the Arkansas river, erect a cantonment for rendezvous, and engage from this centre in the itinerary service requisite for the accomplishment of the desired object.

"*Without* the full force which I have suggested, especially of the cavalry arm, I should judge it inexpedient to make the movement. *With* this force it is presumed that the trade might be secured and the garrison placed beyond the probable reach of disaster." [45]

Secretary Barbour immediately sent General Brown's report to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and to Benton personally, expressing his full concurrence in its views. This correspondence was soon published in the Missouri papers, and was interpreted as being favorable to the establishment of the military post. Missourians took it for granted that the importance of the trade was well ascertained and generally admitted. It was thought that the military force would become less important as the commercial communication with New Mexico increased, and that in time it might be altogether withdrawn.[46] Nothing more was done in this session of Congress, except that the Committee on Military Affairs reported General Brown's letter to the Senate before adjournment.[47]

The following summer was an unusually prosperous season for the traders. The amount of goods taken out to Santa Fe was somewhat less than in the previous year,[48] but every published account of the return of the traders

[45] *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Affairs*, III, 615.
[46] *Mo. Intel.*, Feb. 22, 1827, quoted from the *Mo. Herald*.
[47] *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Affairs*, III, 615.
[48] This is on the authority of *Gregg*, II, 160.

spoke of their great profits, often amounting to 100 per cent.[49] No reports of Indian difficulties of any moment reached the settlements, and no complaints of the Mexican tariff were made. All this meant a great expansion of the overland commerce in 1828.

The value of the goods taken out in 1828 was twice as great as in any previous year and the number of wagons and men employed was approximately twice as large. But when the traders reached Santa Fe they found to their chagrin that a new tariff had gone into effect, not only raising the duties on many articles, but also prohibiting the importation of many things which they customarily carried. These tariff changes reduced the profits very materially.[50] On their way home the traders suffered severely from the Indians. Two young men belonging to one caravan and one man belonging to a second were shot and killed. The first company was robbed of nearly a thousand head of horses and mules, while the second lost all its animals, and the men were forced to abandon their wagons, walking the hundreds of miles back to Missouri.[51]

When the Missouri legislature met in November, 1828, Governor Miller called its attention to the severe check given to the trade by the murders and robberies. "Similar outrages have been committed before," he said, "and may be expected in the future. The General Government has been applied to for protection—for *even* the establishment of a military post on the Arkansas. It has not been granted. Protection to our maritime trade is extended by the Government, to our merchants and other adventurers, in all parts of the world; and we have a right to expect and demand it for our inland trade to Mexico."[52]

Almost coincidentally with the publication of the governor's message appeared an official notice in the Missouri papers from the Indian Agent on the Upper Missouri that 1500 Pawnee warriors had started on a marauding excursion

[49] See for instance *Mo. Intel.*, July 19, Sept. 20, 1827.

[50] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1828; *Old Santa Fe*, I, 259.

[51] *Niles' Register*, XXXV, 214; *Gregg*, I, 27-29. Gregg says that these three men were the first to be killed in the overland trade; *Gregg*, II, 160.

[52] *House Jour.*, 5th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 13.

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ch 20, March 27, 1829.
6, 1829. The editorial comment was that the bill was

against the whites. Warning was given that the Indians were expecting to gain the most plunder on the Santa Fe road, but that if they failed to gratify their rapacity there they would doubtless fall on the frontier settlements. They had declared their determination to scalp all white men whom they met, without exception.[53]

These circumstances gave rise to the first memorial to Congress from the Missouri legislature on the subject of the protection of the Santa Fe trade. The memorial, approved by the governor December 26, gave a brief history of the trade with the Mexican provinces, and then mentioned the "great losses" to the traders from the professedly friendly tribes as well as from the wandering hostile tribes. "During the present year," it related, "several citizens have been killed, and losses have been sustained to the amount of about forty thousand dollars." Protection by the national government was important because it could not be constitutionally afforded by the state. The establishment of a military post on the Arkansas, with an escort of 70 or 80 mounted men for the traders, was urged. This would effectually protect the trade, and the frontier settlements as well. "Savages are restrained by nothing but *force*; and we have good grounds to apprehend, that unless a military force be placed among them, they will not only repeat their aggressions on our trading parties, but that ere long, they will make inroads on our frontier settlements. We have the authority of an experienced Indian agent for saying that the Pawnee Indians, a powerful tribe, are now much disaffected toward us, and are determined to spare no white man who falls in their way. If the post be established, and the escort as herein before mentioned be furnished, we shall have full security for our traders and others within our territory; and if the Mexican government could be prevailed on to afford protection within their territory, this important and heretofore flourishing branch of trade would be amply secured. Your memorialists * * * confidently expect that some relief will be afforded them." [54]

[53] *Mo. Intel.*, Nov. 14, 1828.
[54] *Ses. Laws of Mo.*, 5th Gen. Assem., 75-78.

This document was sent at once to the United States Senate, where it was introduced and ordered printed.[55] It aroused sentiment in both houses. In the Senate Mr. Barton submitted a resolution, January 21, 1829, calling upon the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the matter of the further protection of the trade.[56] Three days later, Mr. Bates, Representative from Missouri, submitted a similar resolution in the House.[57] The Senate Committee, of which Mr. Benton was then chairman, in less than a week introduced a bill authorizing the President to have four companies of infantry mounted. This force was to be employed in securing the frontier settlements against Indian attacks, as well as in protecting the caravans engaged in the inland trade with Mexico. To meet the expenses incurred in mounting these troops, $38,500 was to be appropriated. The bill passed the Senate but was never acted upon in the House.[58]

The latter body had before it for consideration another bill, quite different from the Senate bill in its provisions, though looking toward the same purpose. It provided that, for the necessary protection, four companies of Missouri militia should be raised and drafted into the federal service for a period not to exceed four months. The members of these companies were to equip themselves at their own expense, but were to be paid for their services by the national government.[59] This bill failed of passage by a large vote, and Congress adjourned without any legislation upon the subject.

THE RILEY ESCORT, 1829.

Great disappointment was felt in Missouri at the congressional failure to provide adequate protection. Assistance was soon forthcoming from another source, however. Within a few days after Andrew Jackson was inaugurated President, the incoming Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, issued an order to General Atkinson, commanding the western division

[55] *Sen. Doc.*, 52, 19th Cong., 2nd Ses.
[56] *Mo. Intel.*, Feb. 13, 1829.
[57] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1829.
[58] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, March 20, March 27, 1829.
[59] *Mo. Intel.*, March 6, 1829. The editorial comment was that the bill was "entirely inadequate."

of the army, to send four companies of infantry (unmounted) to accompany the Santa Fe traders as far as the international boundary line on the Arkansas river. The detachment was to encamp there until the following October, when it would accompany the returning traders to Missouri.[60]

As these troops would go only to the Arkansas river, the governor of Missouri decided that it would be necessary to raise a company "of our citizens" to escort the traders from the Arkansas to Santa Fe, and back again to the river. Governor Miller announced that to assist the enterprise he had secured from General Atkinson the loan of a six-pounder with ammunition, and also pistols and sabers for the company.[61] This undertaking was given wide publicity through the press, in order that the company might be speedily organized.

The publication of General Atkinson's notice of the intention of the government to provide an escort, and of Governor Miller's resolution to raise an additional company of Missouri troops created considerable excitement in Missouri. Partisan politics had become so violent as to cause practically every official action to be condemned by one side and praised by the other. This proposed expedition was no exception. The editor of the Missouri Intelligencer hooted at the idea that the government troops were really for protection, and spoke of the expedition as "an electioneering maneuvre of the Government for popularity."[62] The editor of the Missouri Republican pointed out that the greatest danger was beyond the Arkansas, and that therefore the escort of government troops was useless, and worse than useless because it would excite the Indians and provoke them to make an attack after the Arkansas was passed. It was also pertinently asked how General Atkinson could undertake to furnish arms and munitions of war to men not called into the service of the United States, since Congress had made no appropriation to defray the expenses of the expedition.[63]

[60] *Mo. Intel.*, May 1, 1829; *Niles' Register*, XXXVI, 182, 199.
[61] *Niles' Register*, XXXVI, 199.
[62] *Mo. Intel.*, May 1, 1829.
[63] *Mo. Intel.*, May 8, 1829, quoted from the *Mo. Republican*.

Another question, one which excited comment all over the country, was that of the authority by which Governor Miller sent an armed force into the territory of a friendly power.[64] On the other hand, Governor Miller's political friends in Missouri were not disposed to question his power so long as they were convinced that it was being exercised for the benefit of Missouri and for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens of the state. They also felt that the escort of government troops would have the effect of overawing the Indians, both before and after the Arkansas was passed.[65]

Governor Miller's plan of a volunteer escort beyond the Arkansas had to be given up, however, because the volunteers were not forthcoming. At a meeting to organize the traders and raise the company of volunteers in Howard County, the center of the Santa Fe trading interests in Missouri, only five persons enlisted for military service.[66] Later efforts to increase the enrollment failed, and the governor's plan was therefore abandoned. The traders were disheartened, and owing to the feeling of insecurity less than half as many went out in 1829 as had gone the previous year.[67]

The United States detachment of troops, commanded by Major Bennett Riley, accompanied the traders to the Arkansas river. Within six hours after they had left him they were attacked by the Indians, and one merchant was killed. Apprised of the situation by an express rider, Riley immediately crossed over into Mexican territory and soon came up to the caravan, finding it surrounded by the Indians. The soldiers accompanied the merchants two days longer, and then returned to the encampment on the Arkansas. Here they were attacked several times within a few days, four men were killed, and seventy-five head of horses and oxen were driven off. "Think what our feelings must have been," wrote Major Riley in his report, "to see them going off with our cattle and horses, when, if we had been mounted, we could have beaten them to pieces; but we were obliged to

[64] *Niles' Register*, XXXVI, 199.
[65] *Mo. Intel.*, May 15, 1829, quoted from the *St. Louis Beacon*.
[66] *Mo. Intel.*, May 8, 1829.
[67] *Mo. Intel.*, May 8, June 12, 1829.

content ourselves with whipping them from our camp." After several skirmishes the Indians withdrew, and the troops were left in peace for the next two months. About the middle of October the traders arrived from Santa Fe under the guard of a strong detachment of Mexican troops. The latter reported the loss of three men in a brush with the Indians.[68]

The caravan finally reached Missouri early in November, and reported that despite all the losses from the Indians profits had been unusually high, one hundred per cent or more on the investment. It was generally felt, however, that without the aid of the military escort from the United States and from Mexico, the expedition would have suffered as severely as those of the previous year, and the inland trade would have been destroyed. "President Jackson has saved it this year by doing all that he could—granting an escort of infantry; let Congress at the ensuing session perform its part by granting an appropriation for mounting and properly equipping that escort." [69]

GOVERNMENT FAILURE TO PROTECT TRADE.

When Congress met several petitions from Missouri were presented, urging legislative protection. The annual report of the Secretary of War suggested also that the trade was proving beneficial and merited some attention from the government.[70] But Congress seemed as little disposed as ever to take favorable action. In the Senate the problem as usual devolved upon the Committee on Military Affairs. It reported a bill authorizing the mounting and equipping of such a number of troops as the public service might require, not exceeding ten companies, for equipping which it was proposed to appropriate $52,500.[71]

When the bill came up for discussion, March 23, 1830, Senator Benton stated that one object of the measure was to give protection to the trading caravans between Missouri

[68] Report of Major Riley, *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Affairs*, IV, 277.
[69] *Niles' Register*, XXXVII, 274.
[70] *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Affairs*, IV., 154.
[71] *Niles' Register*, XXXVIII, 57, 101.

and Mexico, "caravans which annually bring home large sums of gold and silver, and now experience continued losses, in lives and property, for want of the species of protection which this bill proposes to give." He made a long argument in favor of the bill, which, in conclusion, he said it was necessary to pass at once, "as the Santa Fe caravan would set out from Missouri in May." [72] Even this appeal for immediate action failed of any results and the bill was not passed. The traders gave up hope of help from Congress and determined to rely upon themselves. A much larger number than usual went out in 1830, under an efficient organization of their own, "without waiting longer," they said, "on our dilatory and *speech-making* Congress, for the long-expected escort." [73]

The members of this expedition of 1830 were happily disappointed, for when they returned they reported that they had encountered no opposition from the Indians, either going or coming. They must have felt, however, that this was an exceptional year. When the legislature met in its regular session in November, the governor again referred to the subject of assistance from the national government. He declared that favorable action was "imperiously demanded," not only for the protection of the trade, but also for the general security of the frontier and the preservation of order among the tribes themselves.[74] Following the lead of the governor, the General Assembly took action by sending a second memorial to Congress, more concise and vigorous than the previous one. It called attention to the need for defence from the Indians, not only for the traders but for the home people as well. "Were Missouri to consult the chivalrous feelings of her sons," the legislators declared, "she would stand by her own means of defence, and would scorn to ask for succor from any quarter; but it behooves her, in following the strict line of her duty under the law, to pursue a different course and to look to the general government, whose province it is to provide for the general defence." "The nature of man is but too well known to be such, as to make it incumbent

[72] *Abridgement of Debates*, X, 497-500.
[73] *Mo. Intel.*, May 22, 1830.
[74] *Sen. Jour.*, 6th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 12.

upon those who desire and expect peace, safety and quietude, always to be in a state of readiness, not only for defence but also in their turn for annoyance." The memorial suggested that if Congress would authorize the enlistment and equipment of a battalion of rangers, the most efficient and most acceptable kind of troops for the service desired, the men would be cheerfully supplied by Missouri herself.[75]

This prayer for assistance failed to make a sufficient impression upon Congress to secure favorable legislation. Just before adjournment in March, a resolution submitted by Senator Benton was adopted. This called upon the President to furnish the Senate with authentic information at the beginning of the next regular session of Congress as to the number of persons killed in the overland trade, the number and amount of robberies, the number of persons engaged in the trade, the amount of capital required and the proceeds, and the disadvantages under which the traders labored with the necessary measures of relief and protection for them.

The resolution was referred by the President to Secretary of War Cass, who instituted a searching investigation during the summer and autumn of 1831, and who made his report the following February (1832).[76]

The Cass report, dealing with the fur trade as well as with the inland trade with Mexico, gave a large mass of detailed information. It was made up largely of letters from various traders and trappers, and from officials in the Indian Agencies. They declared and reiterated that the Indian peril could be remedied only by an exhibition of military strength. "It is quite time," said Cass, "that the United States should interpose, efficaciously, to put a stop as well to the depredations of the Indians against our own citizens, as to their hostilities among themselves." William Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, declared that the roving tribes had no idea whatever of the power of the United States and that unless some effectual mode were speedily adopted to inform them on that subject, the injury to hun-

[75] *Ses. Laws of Mo.*, 6th Gen. Assem., 125-126.

[76] *Sen. Doc.* 90, 22nd Cong., 1st Ses. The report covers 86 printed pages.

dreds of citizens would be severely felt. It was pointed out that for this purpose the infantry was practically useless.

The warnings contained in the report were given a distinct prophetic tinge by the commencement within a few days of an Indian war on the northwestern frontier, the Black Hawk War. Under the stimulus of the Cass report, and in the presence of this new danger, Congress responded in the spring of 1832 by passing a bill authorizing the President to raise a mounted force for the protection of the frontiers. It was not definitely stated that this force would be used in protecting the traders, and therefore in the summer of 1832 they made application to President Jackson for a force to meet them at the Arkansas on their return home to conduct them safely to the frontier. This request was promptly granted, though it came so late that the soldiers were unable to reach the Arkansas before they met the traders.[77] In his annual message to Congress, December 4, 1832, Jackson spoke of the increasing internal trade carried on between Missouri and New Mexico, "under the protection of escorts furnished by the national government." [78]

Very little was said about danger to the traders from the Indians after 1832. The subject was never mentioned again in a gubernatorial message or a legislative memorial. The traders had at last learned that they must rely upon themselves, and above all had found that if they united in one strong caravan and formed an effective organization, military in its character, they could stand off any body of Indians they were likely to encounter. In 1833 and again in 1837 small caravans were attacked, and suffered considerable loss, but these occurrences simply emphasized the necessity of unity and co-ordination among the merchants. According to Josiah Gregg, there was an escort of United States troops furnished in 1834 and one in 1843,[79] and the newspapers occasionally spoke of forces of dragoons accompanying the caravans.[80] Such protection seems to have been the exception rather than the rule.

[77] Message from Gov. Miller to the legislature, Nov. 20, 1832; *House Jour.*, 7th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 18.

[78] Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II, 595.

[79] *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 160, note.

[80] *Ark. Gazette*, May 8, 1833, quoted from *Mo. Repub.*

THE DOUBLE TAXATION GRIEVANCE.

[2]The problem in regard to the Indians had thus gradually been solved. Then remained the difficulty relative to the impositions upon merchandise at the Mexican frontier. This question had not completely disappeared, even when the Indian depredations were uppermost in the public mind. As the trade had grown, a greater and greater amount of the merchandise taken to Santa Fe was of foreign origin. When imported into the United States it had naturally been taxed under the American tariff laws. Upon these same articles a second tariff duty was paid at the Mexican frontier, under the Mexican tariff laws. The Missouri traders therefore were paying double taxes, and were encountering an unequal competition with English and French merchants and with eastern American merchants who were introducing their goods into Mexico through the ports on the Gulf. One of the traders proposed in 1829 a way out of the difficulty. He desired Congress to pass legislation allowing the advantage of debenture or rebates on original packages of foreign merchandise transported through the United States to Mexico.[81]

The tariff difficulties of the traders were increased by a new decree of the Mexican government, dated May 22, 1829, by which many articles formerly imported were prohibited under pain of seizure. Among the articles prohibited were agricultural implements, many sorts of cotton goods, and all kinds of coarse cloth.[82] It seemed as if this would have a serious bearing upon the future commercial relations of the United States with Mexico.

The Mexican federal law of 1829 was probably not strictly enforced in New Mexico, and yet the traders felt that the revenue authorities were arbitrary in its administration, and that they imposed illegal duties as well. One grievous exaction collected after 1828 was the per diem tax, for keeping open retail shops. Another was the arrival duty of ten dollars on each cargo, or mule load of merchandise. This latter tax was changed some years later to $750 on each wagon

[81]A. Wetmore to T. H. Benton, May 26, 1829, in *Mo. Intel.*, June 19, 1829.
[82]*Niles' Register*, XXXVI, 354.

load of goods, besides $150 on each baggage wagon.[83] To enable the Americans to baffle attempts at extortion or to resist illegal charges, it was proposed by Superintendent William Clark that the American commercial relations with Mexico should be very clearly and particularly defined.[84]

The commercial treaty of 1831 with Mexico, the first concluded by the United States with that power, contained the "most favored nation" clause, and hence presumably stopped all unusual, extra or illegal charges. Governor Miller, in his last message to the legislature, November, 1832, commented on this provision, anticipating, he said, the most beneficial results from it. He recognized that the treaty did not remedy the "double taxation" grievance, but the situation was such that the trade needed nothing more than a military escort and the usual "drawback" on the exportation of foreign goods to render it extensive and highly profitable.[85]

INDEPENDENCE, MO., A PORT OF ENTRY.

Congress gave no encouragement, however, to the movement in Missouri to secure the "drawbacks," and the matter was not seriously mentioned again for two years. In the meantime, General William H. Ashley had been elected Representative from Missouri. He was one of the foremost fur-traders of his time, and though he seems never to have engaged in the Mexican trade, he understood the conditions and difficulties under which it was carried on. From his first appearance in the House in 1831, he had been insistently urging military protection for it. In December, 1834, he introduced and secured the passage of a resolution calling upon the Committee on Commerce to inquire into the expediency of allowing rebates on foreign goods transported through the United States to Mexico, and of establishing a port of entry at Independence, Missouri, the headquarters of the Santa Fe traders after 1831. This attempt to secure beneficial legislation was reinforced by a memorial from the Missouri legislature in January, 1835, presenting the tariff

[83] *Columbia Statesman*, Feb. 20, 1846.
[84] *Sen. Doc.*, 9, 22nd Cong., 1st Ses., 4, 9, 32.
[85] *House Jour.*, 7th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 18-19.

difficulties of the traders. The memorial called attention to the unequal operation of the laws in that the re-exporters from the Atlantic cities to the ports of Mexico had the benefit of rebates, while no such favor was granted the persons engaged in re-exporting goods from Missouri to New Mexico. Owing to this inequality, it was claimed that the Missouri traders were paying about twenty-five per cent more for their goods than were the Atlantic traders, that consequently their commerce with New Mexico was "languishing." [86]

The Ashley resolution was referred by the Committee on Conmerce to the Secretary of the Treasury, who in turn referred it to the comptroller's office. The report was in the form of a letter from the Comptroller, suggesting a set of regulations under which Independence might be made a port of entry, and rebates might be allowed the merchants without endangering the regular and safe collection of the revenue.[87] Under the proposed regulations, the goods were to be taken to Santa Fe in the original packages, accompanied by proper certification of revenue officials at St. Louis and Independence, after which the rebate would be paid to the order of the owner of the goods. Accompanying the report as presented to the House was a bill providing the regulations suggested by the Comptroller.[88] No action was taken on the bill, possibly owing to the hostility of the eastern members who must have recognized that its passage would raise up competitors for their constituents. A similar bill introduced at the beginning of the next session shared the same fate.[89]

It was five years later before Congress definitely gave the subject much attention. In the interval, at the opening of the Ninth and of the Tenth General Assemblies of Missouri, Governor Boggs had submitted for consideration the propriety of again memorializing Congress for the rebates and for the establishment of a port of entry at the western border of Missouri.[90] On both occasions the legislatures responded in accordance with the desires of the governor. The memorial

[86] *Ses. Laws of Mo.*, 8th Gen. Assem., 104.
[87] *Ex. Doc.*, 116, 23rd Cong., 2nd Ses.
[88] *Niles' Register*, XLVII, 390.
[89] *Congressional Globe*, Dec. 21, 1835.
[90] *Sen. Jour.*, 9th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 30-31; 10th Gen. Assem. of Mo. 26-27.

of February, 1837, spoke of the trade as being worth half a million dollars annually, while the one of December, 1838, represented the commerce as practically extinct. The latter memorial leaves the impression of exaggeration; when speaking of the trade of 1828 as being worth half a million dollars, Missouri prices, sold at a loss in Mexico because of the competition from goods entered at ports on the Mexican coast, it doubled the valuation of the goods over any previous figures and made no mention of the heavy losses from the Indians.

The demand on the part of Missouri for legislation favoring the traders was reinforced in 1839 by similar demands from Arkansas. In that year Josiah Gregg led the first Arkansas caravan of traders to Mexico.[91] Thereafter the Arkansas congressional delegation championed the cause of rebates as vigorously as the Missouri delegation had done previously. Edward Cross, the Arkansas Representative, was particularly active in working up favorable sentiment. Largely through his efforts, the subject was referred in 1840 to the House Committee on Commerce, and a favorable report secured from that Committee.[92]

The advantages derivable from a properly regulated trade with the internal provinces, the committee reported, were so plain as to need no demonstration. "The plan of encouragement proposed is, to allow the benefit of drawback on goods exported overland to those countries. To a measure so simple in its nature, and so consonant with common justice, the committee are unable to discern any plausible objection. If goods conveyed by sea are entitled to a return of duties, why should they be denied the same privilege when exported by land? No substantial argument against it can be drawn from the fear of frauds on the revenue."

Even the Missouri legislature could not have stated the case more convincingly. And yet a bill to carry out the recommendation of the report, introduced into the House, was never taken up for consideration. The friends of the measure in the Senate were more fortunate. There a bill

[91] *Ark. Gazette*, May 15, 1839.
[92] *House Report* 540, 26th Cong., 1st Ses.

was finally passed late in the session, providing for the desired tariff regulations, and for the establishment of ports of entry in both Missouri and Arkansas.[93] Governor Boggs, in his message to the legislature in November, 1840, commenting on the Congressional action, said that the Senate bill doubtless would have become a law had not the great mass of business which had accumulated in the other house prevented action. He expected the bill to pass both houses at the ensuing session.[94]

Another five years went by, however, before the traders were able to secure the passage of their bill. Agitation was continued throughout this interim by newspaper articles, by legislative action in Missouri and Arkansas, and by forcing the consideration of the subject in Congress. The Senate remained the more friendly of the two houses and passed a bill in 1841, but as in the previous year it failed in the House.

Finally, on the last day of Tyler's administration, March 3, 1845, after an agitation extending over sixteen years, the bill was passed and approved.[95] It provided that rebates might be secured on imported merchandise, upon which duties had been paid, when the goods were re-exported, either through Missouri or Arkansas, to Mexico. Inspectors were to be appointed to reside at Independence in Missouri and at Van Buren and Fulton in Arkansas, at a salary of $250 per annum each. The law came too late to be of much assistance to the traders. Within two years, Santa Fe was seized by United States troops, and was thenceforth a part of American territory. Although no rebates were thereafter available, neither were there New Mexican tariff duties to pay, and the entire system of the overland commerce underwent a change.

[93] *Ark. Gazette*, June 10, July 29, 1840.
[94] *Sen. Jour.*, 11th Gen. Assem. of Mo., 27.
[95] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, V. 750.

HOW MISSOURI COUNTIES, TOWNS AND STREAMS WERE NAMED.

DAVID W. EATON.

Second Article.

"O Hermogenes, son of Hippomeus! there is an old proverb that beautiful things are somehow beautiful to learn. Now the learning relating to names happens to be no small affair."

—(Plato in Cratylus.)

The history of the names of our towns, civil divisions and natural physical objects may be just as interesting to some as their history, chronicled in the ordinary way, may be to others. To any one interested in this subject the author asks that information be sent him of any name not appearing in these articles. Criticism of the names published is also asked. To trace local names, has, on account of its great difficulty, led to some guessing. 'Truth cometh out of error', and it is hoped such names will invite discussion and more light will follow. Some names may never be correctly traced. It may occur to some reader to ask why worry over the names of places? If they serve their purpose why waste time over them? That reminds me of the story of "The Little Dog and the Owl."

"Of what are you thinking so hard?" said the Dog to the Owl.

"I am speculating," answered the Owl, "whether the first Owl came out of an egg, or the first egg out of an Owl."

"But that," urged Little Dog, "can never be known now."

"You fool," retorted the Owl, "that is precisely what makes it such an interesting subject of meditation."

* * * * * *

BUCHANAN COUNTY.

Organized Feb. 10, 1839. Called for James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who was attracting considerable attention at that time. Born in 1791, died June 1, 1868. "On page 123, House Journal, Dec. 13, 1938, the House had under consideration the counties of Platte and DeKalb when John P. Morris of Howard moved to strike out the word 'DeKalb' and insert 'Buchanan.' The Journal added 'in honor of Hon. James Buchanan of Pennsylvania.' Mr. Morris' motion prevailed 46 to 39." (Switzler, *Hist. of Mo.*)

St. Joseph, county seat of Buchanan County, named for Joseph Robideaux, an early French trader and settler. Peter B. Fulkerson and Armstrong McClintock of Clinton county and Leonard Brassfield, of Clay county, were appointed commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice, and they named the original site of the county seat "Benton," but the county court changed it to "Sparta" in 1840, and in 1845 the seat of justice was moved to its present place in St. Joseph.

Agency, a village in Buchanan county, which was formerly the site of an agency of the Sac and Fox Indians. Platted in 1865 by Wm. B. Smith.

DeKalb, platted by James G. Finch in 1839 and first called Bloomington, but name changed by act of Legislature, Feb. 28, 1851. Named for Baron DeKalb.

East Atchison, across the river from and east of Atchison, Kansas, hence the name.

Easton, village in Buchanan County, platted in 1854 by E. Don McCrary.

Faucett, platted in 1890, and named for Robert Faucett, the miller.

Frazer, a family name.

Halls, named for Gov. Willard P. Hall.

Rushville, laid out in 1847 by Perin Hudson and James Leachman, and so named for dense growth of rushes nearby.

Saxton, named for Albe M. Saxton, who donated land for a depot.

Wallace, laid out in 1872 and named for an officer of the railroad passing through the place.

Willowbrook, named for a willow-bordered stream nearby.

* * * *

BUTLER COUNTY.

Organized Feb. 27, 1849, and act says: "To be called Butler County in honor of William O. Butler, of Kentucky," He was a General in the Mexican War, and candidate for Vice-President on Democrat ticket in 1848.

Poplar Bluff, county seat of Butler county. By act of the Legislature, John Stevens, of Cape Girardeau; Wm. Henly, of Stoddard; and Martin Handlin, of Ripley, were appointed commissioners to locate seat of justice, and ordered to meet. The last named died before any action was taken and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of John F. Martin, of Ripley. The commissioners selected 160 acres on the banks of the Black River that had not been entered by the government. The county court thereupon appointed Obadiah Epps, commissioner to receive small loans from individuals to raise a sum sufficient to pay for the land. Among the contributors to this fund were: T. C. Caton, S. R. Harviell and Allen McElmurry. The town was surveyed in 1850, named for the poplar timber that originally stood on "The Bluff."

Harviell, named for S. R. Harviell.

Hendrickson, settled by Danes, hence the name, for one of their number.

Keener, a family name.

Kerens, named for R. C. Kerens of St. Louis.

Neelyville, named for family.

Rombauer, named for Judge Rombauer.

Taft, named for President Taft.

* * * *

CALDWELL COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 9, 1836. Named by Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan, who introduced the bill in the Legislature creating the county, after Mathew Caldwell, commander of Indian Scouts and a hunter of Kentucky. Joseph Doniphan, father of A. W. Doniphan, belonged to his company. Gen. Doniphan was chiefly instrumental in having the county named in honor of his father's old comrade.

Kingston, county seat of Caldwell county, was named for Judge Austin A. King, afterward Governor of the State. By act Dec. 16, 1842, George M. Dunn, of Ray; Littleberry Sublett, of Clay; Robert D. Ray, of Carroll; John Austin, of Livingston; and Milford Donahoe, of Daviess, were appointed

commissioners to locate permanent seat of justice. Kingston was surveyed in 1843 for the owners, James Ramsey and William Hill, and Charles J. Hughes was appointed commissioner to conduct the sale of lots. The land on which Kingston was originally located was entered by Abraham Coats and Roswell Stevens. The commission upon the request of a large number of citizens named the town Kingston, as previously mentioned.

Braymer, laid off in 1887 and named for Judge Daniel Braymer, a banker.

Breckenridge, laid out in the fall of 1856, by Breckenridge Townsite Co., on land of Jerome B. Terrill, and named for John C. Breckenridge, Vice President of the United States.

Cowgill, laid off in 1887 and named for Judge James Cowgill, a prominent citizen of the county.

Hamilton, settled in 1855 and surveyed in that year for a town company, composed of Albert G. Davis and others, and named by Mr. Davis "partly in honor of Alexander Hamilton, and partly for Joseph Hamilton, a brilliant lawyer of olden times, and a gallant soldier who was killed under Gen. Harrison at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, Oct. 5, 1813, during the war with Great Britain." (See *Hist. Caldwell Co.*, p. 346.)

Kidder, laid out Aug. 3, 1866, by Geo. S. Harris for F. W. Hunnewell and Ed. L. Baker, trustees for Kidder Land Co., of Boston, and named for Henry P. Kidder, the head of the firm.

Mirabile, a Latin word meaning "wonderful."

Nettleton, laid out for Hunt, Godfrey and Co., of Hannibal in 1868 and first named "Gomar," but name changed in 1870 by order of the county seat to "Nettleton" in honor of George H. Nettleton, a former superintendent of Hannibal & St. Joe R. R.

Polo, "settled in fall of 1867 by Isaac Webb and George Wilkinson in the spring of 1868 and named in honor of a town of the same name in Illinois." (*Hist. Cald. Co.*)

* * * *

CALLAWAY COUNTY.

Organized Nov. 25, 1820. Named in honor of Captain James Callaway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, who was killed by Indians on a branch of the Loutre, March 7, 1815.

Fulton, county seat of Callaway county, was laid out on land of George Nichols in 1827. By an act of the Legislature Nov. 25, 1820, Henry Brite, Enoch Truitt, Wm. McLaughlin and James Nevins were appointed commissioners to select a permanent seat of justice. James Nevens appears to have resigned and Samuel Miller was appointed in his stead. A site was selected and named "Elizabeth," after the wife of Henry Brite. Changes in county lines made a new site desirable by 1824. By act Dec. 25, 1824, James Talbott, of Montgomery; James W. Moss and James McClelland of Boone were appointed commissioners with full power to point out and fix upon the most eligible site, at or within two miles of the center of said county of Callaway and the place so pointed out was declared to be the permanent seat of justice of said county of Callaway. Henry Lay, Ezra Sitton and Hans Patton were appointed commissioners of court house and jail. Robert Dunlop, at whose house the commission was ordered to meet, suggested the name. Named in honor of Robert Fulton, who built the first steamboat to ply in American waters.

Auxvasse, founded in 1871 by J. A. Harrison and laid out Oct. 22, 1873, by Thomas B. Harris. "At an early day, Lilburn W. Boggs, afterward Governor of the State, was traveling with a company of Frenchmen, and on arriving at the stream attempted to cross. In doing so some of the train mired and were extricated with the greatest difficulty. Hence the party named it "Riviere Auxvasse"—river with miry places." The French word "vasse" meaning "muddy" or miry. The town was named from the stream on which located.

Calwood, the first store built by Nathaniel Robinson in 1860.

Carrington, surveyed June 5, 1872, for Wm. Carrington, for whom named.

Cedar City, laid out by David Kenney in 1870 and named from the cedar trees on the bluffs near it.

Cedar Creek, in Callaway County and Cedar Island in the Missouri River, named by Lewis and Clark because cedar trees were abundant on banks and bluffs.

Concord, laid out by John Henderson in May 18, 1837.

Guthrie, named for Guthrie brothers, early settlers.

Holts Summit, laid out by Timothy Holt, Sept. 7, 1870, and in his honor named.

McCredie, a family name.

Millersburg, laid out Oct. 15, 1829, by Thomas Miller, and named by him for Millersburg, Ky., as he stated.

Mokane, town on the Mo., Kan. & E. RR., the name being a portion of each of these names.

New Bloomfield, laid out in 1836 by Enoch Murray and named Bloomfield, but there being another town of that name "new" was prefixed.

Portland, laid out in Sept., 1831, by John Yates and Eden Benson.

Readsville, settled in 1856 by John A. Read and named in his honor.

Shamrock, named for the national emblem of the Irish.

Steedman, a family name.

Stephens Store, named for proprietor.

Williamsburg, laid out in Dec. 1, 1836, by B. G. D. Moxley, and named for Harvey Williams.

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CAMDEN COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 29, 1841, and named "Kinderhook," the residence of Martin Van Buren. On Feb. 23, 1843, the name was changed to Camden, in honor of Charles Pratt, Earl of Camden, High Lord Chancellor, an English statesman whose name was given to several counties in the United States because of this apposition in Parliament to the war for sub-

jugation, and he was one of the ablest advocates of the unconstitutionality of "Taxation without representation."

Linn Creek, county seat of Camden county, settled in 1841 by Benjamin R. Abbott who opened a store there. First named "Oregon," then "Erie," and soon changed to present name. Named for creek on which situated and which was named for the many Linn trees that originally grew on its banks.

Banister, a family name.

Barnumton, name derived from family name of Barnum.

Carver, name of first postmaster.

Crittenden, named for Gov. T. T. Crittenden.

Glaize, an abbreviation of Auglaize, the name of the stream on which located. A French phrase meaning "at the clay" or "at the loam" used descriptively. Named for stream.

Hahatonka, named by Maj. Kellog when town was laid out at the beautiful springs at this place. From "Iha-ha," to smile, and "tonka," meaning "water."

Macks Creek, so named for an early settler.

Mosier, a family name.

Nonsuch, named from the original name in England. This was a "sylvan palace built by Henry VIII, at a great expense, for his pleasure and retirement, combined elegance, with all that magnificence could bestow. It was adorned with many statues and casts, and situated in the midst of parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis works, cabinets of verdure, with many columns and pyramids of marble, and two fountains of great beauty.*** It was situated near Ewel, in Surry, and has long since been demolished." (Strickland's *Elizabeth*, p. 158.)

Osage Iron Works, named for iron furnace situated here.

Purvis, named in honor of the Purvis family, pioneers.

Roach, named in honor of a family of that name that were early settlers.

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CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY.

One of the five districts into which Missouri was divided in 1804. On Oct. 1, 1812, it was organized into a county by proclamation; was reduced to its present limits March 5, 1849. Named for town located within its limits. The name is derived from that of Ensign Sieur Girardah, or De Girardot, who from 1704 to 1720 was stationed with the royal troops of France at Kaskaskia, and after resigning his position in the army became a successful trader with the Indians in the territory in and adjacent to the county, and whose trading post was situated at Big Bend at upper end of present town of Cape Girardeau.

Jackson, county seat of Cape Girardeau county. Platted in 1815 on land purchased by commissioners from William H. Ashley. Aug. 13, 1813, John Davis, John Shepherd, Samuel G. Dunn, Abraham Byrd and Benjamin Shell appointed commissioners to select permanent seat of justice. "Its selection as county seat was a severe blow at the time to Cape Girardeau, which was the original county seat." Named for Major-General Jackson, who was just at this time becoming prominent.

Allenville, platted in 1869 and named for Thomas Allen, at the time president of the Iron Mountain and San Francisco R. R.

Appleton, situated on Apple Creek, hence the name, was settled in 1824 by John McLane and John Scholtz.

Arnsberg, named by its inhabitants for Arnsberg in Westphalia, Prussia.

Blomeyer, a German family name.

Bowman, a family name.

Cape Girardeau, surveyed in 1806 by Bartholomew Cousin under the direction of the proprietor, Louis Lorimer, who settled here in 1793. Named in honor of original white trader located here, De Girardot. (See county for history.)

Pocahontas, so named for the Indian maiden of fame in the early settlement of Jamestown, Va.

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CARROLL COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 2, 1833. "To be called and known by the name of Carroll county, in honor of Charles Carroll of Carrollton." At the time of its organization by the legislature just before the passage of the bill the news of the death of Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had reached Jefferson City and a proposition was immediately made to call the new county, Carroll. It was unanimously carried. (See Wakenda.)

Carrollton, county seat of Carroll county, was named for the estate of Charles Carroll. John Morse, Felix Redding and Elias Guthrie of Chariton county were appointed a commission to select site for the county seat.

Bogard, was first known as Bogard's Mound, a large Indian mound being near by. A family name.

Bosworth, laid out in 1888 and named for settler.

DeWitt, named for DeWitt Clinton, former Governor of New York.

Hale, laid out in 1833 and named for John P. Hale of Carrollton.

Miami Station, so named because it is the railroad station for the town of Miami in Saline county.

Norborne, laid out in 1868, named for family.

Wakenda, town and creek of same name, meaning in the Indian language "God's River" on account of the abundance of game on its banks and fish in the stream. Wakenda was the first proposed name for Carroll county, and was changed at last moment before passing of the bill organizing it. (See Carroll.)

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CARTER COUNTY.

Organized March 10, 1859, and named for Zimri A. Carter, a pioneer citizen.

Van Buren, county seat of Carter county, named for President Van Buren.

Barren, named after the "Barrens" in Kentucky, a name given to level lands covered with brush and small timber.

Clinton, a family name.

Fremont, named for the "Pathfinder," John C. Fremont. Fremont was a son-in-law of Thomas H. Benton. When Fremont became a candidate for President in 1856, Benton took the stump against him.

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CASS COUNTY.

Organized Sept. 14, 1835, and first called VanBuren; changed to Cass by act of Legislature February 19, 1849, in honor of Lewis Cass, then U. S. Senator from Michigan.

Harrisonville, county seat of Cass county, was laid out in 1837 upon lands donated to Cass county by act of Congress for county purposes. Hon. Albert G. Harrison, congressman at large from Missouri was instrumental in getting this land grant, and for him named.

Belton, platted in 1871 by W. H. Colburn and G. W. Scott.

Drexel, named for one of the proprietors of the pioneer store at this place.

East Lynn, platted in 1871 by Daniel K. Hall and Noah M. Given.

Gunn City, platted in 1871 by Levers and Bunce, and named for O. B. Gunn, one time chief engineer of M., K. and T. Railroad.

Peculiar. When a petition for a post office at this place was sent to Washington it was returned because the name suggested was already in use, and the next name was also, and a third, when the department suggested that they pick out a name that was peculiar, and this suggested the name that was returned and accepted by the department.

Pleasant Hill, so named for its pleasant situation on an elevated prairie.

Raymore, named for two railroad men of St. Louis, Messrs. Ray and Moore.

Strasburg, settled by Germans and named by them for Strasburg, in Alsace.

Westline, platted in 1870 by James F. Beard and others and so named from its situation near the west line of the county and state.

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CEDAR COUNTY.

Organized Feb. 14, 1845, and named for the principal stream through the county, on the bluff of which cedar trees are plentiful. The stream was also named for this reason.

Stockton, county seat of Cedar county, platted in 1846 and originally called Lancaster. Commission to locate seat were William W. Smith, of Polk; Jonathan T. Berry, of Henry, and James Blankenship of Benton. In 1847 the name was changed to Fremont in honor of the "Pathfinder," but in 1856 Gen. Fremont became the Republican candidate for President, and the following winter the Democratic legislature changed the name to Stockton, in honor of Commodore Richard Stockton, of the Navy, who had arrested Fremont during the Mexican war and sought to have him disgraced.

Caplinger Mills, was settled in 1849 by Samuel Caplinger, who built the first mills at this place and named for him.

Eldorado Springs, platted in 1881 by H. N. and W. P. Cruce. Named Eldorado, in Spanish meaning "The Golden," and noted for its medical springs.

Jerico Springs, platted in 1882, and the name is a combination of the name of the ancient town of Jericho with the name of Joseph B. Carrico, a former owner of the tract of land on which the original town was built.

Pleasant View, so named for its situation.

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CHARITON COUNTY.

Organized Nov. 16, 1820. The first settlers were French fur traders who located near the mouth of the Chariton River, from which the county takes its name. The river was named in honor of John Chariton, the leader of the French fur traders. The name has undergone many changes, like many other French names, having appeared as Charleton, Charlatan, Chariton, Charleton, Chareton, and Charlotte; the form Chariton has now become fixed.

Keytesville, county seat of Chariton county, named for Rev. James Keytes, of England, an early settler. The commission appointed to locate the seat of justice, by the legislature consisted of Richard Woodson, Lawson Dunnington, Hiram Craig, William Pierce and Baylor Banks.

Brunswick, named for Brunswick Terrace in England, the former home of the founder, Rev. James Keytes. Brunswick—Brunos' Village, from "Wick"—Village.

Bynumville, named for Dr. Joseph Bynum, an early settler.

Cunningham, named for Dr. John F. Cunningham, of Brunswick, Mo.

Dalton, laid out in 1863 by William Dalton, an early settler, and in his honor named.

Doxey's Fork, named for John Doxey.

Forest Green, laid out by and named for John G. Forest in 1873.

Mendon, laid out in 1871 by Christopher Shupe.

Rothville, laid out in 1883 by John Roth, a pioneer, and for him named.

Salisbury, located by Judge Lucian Salisbury and for him named.

Shannondale, laid out by Charles Shannon in 1874 and for him named.

Summer, laid out in June, 1882.

Triplett, named for J. E. M. Triplett. Surveyed in 1868 by him and L. A. Cunningham.

Triplett Township, named for J. E. M. Triplett.

Westville, named for Dr. William S. West, the first postmaster.

Wien, named for Wien, Germany. Wien-Vienna.

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CHRISTIAN COUNTY.

Organized March 8, 1860. Named in honor of Col. William Christian, a Revolutionary patriot, of Christian county, Ky. Killed by Indians in April, 1786.

Ozark, county seat of Christian county, named from the mountains in which it is situated.

Billings, laid out in 1872 and named for a capitalist, Mr. Billings, who gave $1000 to the Union Church to have the place named for him.

Chadwick, named for a Frisco Railroad official.

Eaudevie, from *Eau*—water and *de vie*—life, hence "water of life" or "brandy."

Kenton, laid out in 1847 by William Friend, and named for a settler from Tennessee.

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CLARK COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 16, 1836. Named for William Clark, governor of Missouri Territory and a party of the expedition 1804-1806 of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean. Died Sept. 1, 1838.

Kahoka, county seat of Clark county, laid out in 1851 by Messrs. William W. Johnson, Moses F. Clawson, and Willer C. Duer, and in 1865 was made the county seat. By act Dec. 16, 1836, James Armstrong and Walter Briscoe, of Lewis, and John W. Long, of Shelby, were appointed commissioners to locate county seat. They were to meet at the house of Obadiah Colly, on the last Monday in March, 1836, but not being properly informed as to the date, two of them, Armstrong and Brisco, met one week too soon and their report was rejected. The county court then appointed Stephen Cleaver, of Ralls; Obadiah Dickerson, of Shelby;

and Micajah J. Noys, of Pike, as commissioners. They selected the site at Waterloo. Samuel D. South was appointed commissioner to lay out and sell lots. July 7, 1847, a petition was presented to the county court to remove the county seat from Waterloo to Alexandria, and the court appointed Stanton Buckner, William Carson, William Ellis, James M. Lillard, and John Mattingly commissioners. The removal was approved by a majority vote, and James S. Henning was appointed commissioner. It was afterward moved back to Waterloo and in 1865 to Kahoka. Named from the division of the Illinois tribe of Indians by that name, who were commonly called Kahokia,(French–Kaoukia). The Indian word is "Gawakia"—"the lean ones."

Alexandria, first settled by a Mississippi ferryman who built a cabin in the winter of 1824-1825. Originally surveyed by Francis Church, Sept. 1833, and first called Churchville. In April 1839, J. W. S. and L. B. Mitchell platted an addition and called it Alexandria, and the name of the town was changed to Alexandria, in honor of the first ferryman.

Ashton, surveyed Nov. 1833, by Phillip Showalter, and named for settler.

Athens, laid out Nov. 21, 1844, by Isaac Gray and named for the ancient city of Greece.

Luray, laid out Oct. 26, 1837, by George Combs and Robert A. Stark.

St. Francisville, laid out in 1833 and plat filed April 9, 1834, by Francis Church and William Clark, and name formed by prefixing St. to the given name of Church.

Wayland, laid out March 16, 1880, by Gerbard M. Cooper and named for Jerre Wayland, a pioneer.

Wyaconda, laid out by Santa Fe Loan and Land Co., Jan. 9, 1888, and named from stream.

Wyaconda Creek, named for a tradition among the Sioux which established the belief in the nation that their deity, "Wyaconda," had taken up his abode at the mouth of this stream.

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CLAY COUNTY.

Organized January 2, 1822, and named for Henry Clay of Kentucky. Died June 29, 1852.

Liberty, county seat of Clay county, was selected as county seat by John Hutchins, Henry Estes, Enos Vaughn, Wyatt Atkins and John Poor, commissioners. John Owens and Charles McGee donated the land for public uses and on July 4, 1822 the first lots were sold.

Holt, named for Jerre A. Holt, from North Carolina who settled in the vicinity in 1837 and on whose land the town was established.

Kearney, laid out in 1867 by John Lawrence and named for Gen. Stephen W. Kearney, or rather for Fort Kearney, where Lawrence lived.

Linden, so named for the number of Linn trees originally growing there. There was an older town, once the county seat of Atchison county, that was named for the same reason.

Mosby, named for Hon. William Wallace Mosby, M. D., a citizen of Ray county and one time State Senator.

Smithville, named for Humphrey Smith, the first settler, locally known as "Yankee Smith" who located on Smith Fork in 1822. Here he built a dam and constructed a mill of round, unhewn white oak logs. A pair of 2½-foot millstones were cut from what was called "lost rock" or boulders.

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CLINTON COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 2, 1833. "To be known and called by the name of Clinton, in honor of DeWitt Clinton, of New York." (*Laws of Mo.*) Clinton died Feb. 11, 1828.

Plattsburg, county seat of Clinton county, first called Springfield, but by act of legislature Jan. 10, 1835 the name was changed to Plattsburg in honor of the home town of DeWitt Clinton, of New York.

Cameron, laid out in 1855 by the original owners, E. M. Samuels, S. McCorkle, B. H. Mathews and F. M. Tiernan

and named for Judge Elisha Cameron, of Clay county, who was the father of Mrs. McCorkle.

Gower, laid out in 1870 by Daniel Smith, and named for A. G. Gower, division superintendent of the Railroad at this place at the time.

Grayson, laid out in 1871, on land owned by H. B. Baker and called after the maiden name of his wife.

Lathrop, laid out in 1857 by J. S. Harris, land commissioner of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, and named for the township in which located, which had been named for an early settler.

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COLE COUNTY.

Organized Nov. 16, 1820. Named for Captain Stephen Cole, an Indian fighter and pioneer settler, who built Cole's Fort near Boonville.

Jefferson City, county seat of Cole county and Capital of the State of Missouri, was laid out into lots in 1822 by Maj. Elias Barcroft, appointed surveyor for this work by the Governor, under the superintendence of the commissioners appointed to locate the Capital. The first commissioners of Cole county to locate the county seat were William Weir, Jason Harrison, Wm. Howard of Moniteau Creek, John English and Isaac Stephens. Marion was selected as the county seat. January 21, 1829, by act of legislature, Samuel Crow, John Scruggs and Martin D. Noland were appointed commissioners for removal of county seat and Jefferson City was selected.

By act of the First General Assembly, John Thornton of Howard, Robert G. Watson of New Madrid, John G. White, of Pike, James Logan of Wayne, and Jesse B. Boone of Montgomery, were appointed a commission to select a site for the State Capital. Jesse Boone dying before the commission met, his brother, Daniel M. Boone, of Gasconade, was appointed in his stead. These commissioners were allowed four dollars per day for their services. Governor McNair rejected the bill believing the allowance too high,

but the legislature passed the bill, limiting the time of their service to twenty-five days. When their selection was made and their report returned another act was passed, Dec. 31, 1821, approving the selection made by the commission and the permanent seat of government for the State was located on the south bank of the Missouri River on four certain sections of land specified by that act.

In the "Missourian," published at St. Charles, Mo., then the temporary capital, on Thursday, Jan. 17, 1822, there appeared the following: "City of Jefferson." "The legislature have at length given the permanent seat of government of this State, a *local habitation and a name.* It is to be fixed at the mouth of Wier's Creek, on the south side of the Missouri, a few miles above the mouth of the Osage River, and it is called the *City of Jefferson*, in honor of the late President Jefferson, whose treaty bound us to the Union."

In "Niles' Register," published in Baltimore, Md., and having a nation wide circulation at that time, was contained the following, (Feb. 23, 1822, p. 416): "The Legislature of Missouri has named the permanent seat of Government of the State, the *City of Jefferson*, in honor of Thomas Jefferson, under whose presidency, the territory which forms the present State of Missouri, was added to the Union."

Centertown, so named because near the geographic center of the State.

Elston, a family name. A. M. Elston was a member of the legislature from Cole county in 1838.

Henley, named for William Henley, on whose land the town was built.

Lohman, named for Henry Lohman, a resident of Jefferson City.

Marion, the original county seat of Cole County, and named for "the swamp fox."

Osage Bluff, from bluffs along the river.

Osage City, situated at mouth of Osage River and named for river.

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COOPER COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 17, 1818. Named for Sarshell Cooper, who was killed by an Indian in Cooper's Fort opposite Arrow Rock and near the present site of Boonsboro, Howard County, on the night of April 14, 1814. One wall of Cooper's log cabin formed a part of the wall of the Fort. The Indians stealthily, in a rain or snow storm, removed a part of the chinking, and through the opening, shot Cooper while sitting by the fire with a child on his lap. The child was uninjured. Mr. Cooper was the grandfather of former Senator Stephen Cooper, who now resides in Howard county. (*Switzler.*)

Boonville, county seat of Cooper county, was located by a commission appointed by the legislature Dec. 17, 1818, and Abel Owens, William Wear, Charles Canole, Luke Williams and Julius Emmons were appointed. The town was surveyed by William Ross on land owned by Asa Morgan of the United States Army, and Charles Lucas, of St. Louis, which had been purchased from Mrs. Hannah Cole. The plat was filed Aug. 1, 1817. Morgan lived in old Franklin and died there in 1821. Lucas was a lawyer of St. Louis and was killed by Thomas H. Benton in 1817, eight weeks after the town of Boonville was established. Named for the pioneer, Daniel Boone.

Blackwater, named for stream of same name. Stream named for the character of its banks and water.

Bunceton, laid out in 1868 and named for Harvey Bunce, one of the early residents of the county.

Byberry, located by a stockman and farmer, Mr. Berry, and so named for him.

Clifton, first settled in 1832 by George Cranmer, who with James H. Glasgow built the first mill here known as Cranmer's mill, until Mr. Cranmer had the name changed to "Clifton."

Harriston, located in 1873 by Dr. N. W. Harris, and in his honor named.

Lamine, named for river. The river was named by Renaudiere "Riviere a la Mine," in 1723. In 1720 Philip Renault, Director General of mines of the French colonies

in America, sent prospecting parties into the territory west of the Mississippi to seek gold and silver. This party under Renaudiere discovered lead in 1723 and LaMine or Lamine is a contraction of the original French name.

Otterville, laid out in 1837 and first called Elkton. The present town was laid out by W. G. Wear in 1854. So named from the great number of otters originally found on a creek of the same name which flows by this place.

Overton, a family name.

Pilot Grove, laid out in 1873 on land owned by Samuel Roe. In 1836 the government located a post office here by that name. The name came "from an ancient grove of hickory trees, located upon the high prairie in the vicinity. In early days, before well defined trails or roads had been marked out, this grove served as a "pilot" to persons travelling from Boonville and old Franklin to points in the southwest. The town was regularly surveyed in 1873 by W. W. Trent, of Boonville."

Prairie Home, so named for its pleasant situation on a beautiful prairie.

Speed, a family name.

Wooldridge, named for Dr. Wooldridge, on whose land the town was built.

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CRAWFORD COUNTY.

Organized by act of Jan. 29, 1829, and named for William H. Crawford, who was a candidate for President in 1824. He was from Georgia and died in 1834.

Steelville, county seat of Crawford county, was located by a commission after several other attempts had failed. By act of Jan. 23, 1829, John Stanton, of Franklin; James Dunica, of Cole; and Hugh Barclay, of Gasconade, were made commissioners to select site for county seat. It appears they did not act for on Feb. 13, 1833, the legislature authorized the county court to select a suitable place for permanent seat of justice as "near the center of population of said county as circumstances will permit." On March 10, 1835, another

commission was appointed, Chas. Springer, of Washington; William Spencer, of Franklin; and Thomas Caulk, of Pulaski. James Steel was selected as commissioner and he resigned June 1, 1836, and Simon Frost was appointed, and he was ordered by the county court to lay out the town. James Steel entered 40 acres of land on which was the original townsite. He sold it to the County Court for $50.00, on December 16, 1835, and the court named the town in his honor. He was a bachelor and the first storekeeper in the town.

Bourbon, named for an old post office in the vicinity which had been named for a brand of whiskey.

Cuba, laid out and surveyed Dec. 1857, by M. W. Trask and W. H. Furguson. The nearest settler to the town was George Monroe Jamison, who had a post office named for his wife, "Amanda," but when the town was laid out on the railroad he moved his office to the new town and had the name changed to Cuba.

Leasburg, laid out in 1859 and named for Samuel Lea, the first resident.

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DADE COUNTY.

Organized Jan. 29, 1841. Named for Francis L. Dade, a Major in the Seminole War and a resident of the county.

Greenfield, county seat of Dade county. By act of Jan. 29, 1841, Josiah McCrary, of Barry; William Caulfield, of Greene; and Winifred Owens of Polk, were appointed commissioners to select site for county seat, and were instructed to meet the second Monday in April, 1841, at the house of William Penn. The site selected was on lands of Mathias H. Allison and deeded to the county April 14, 1841. Name suggested by name of Caulfield of Greene county, or "Greenfield."

Arcola, means "little bridge" from "arcula." It is the name of a town near Verona in Italy, the scene of Napoleon's victory over the Austrians in 1796.

Cedarville, platted by Stanley and Thurman, Mar. 16, 1869, and named from Cedar creek on which it is located.

Dadeville, first settled in 184– by a Mr. Johnson and named from county in which located.

Everton, platted in February, 1881, by Ralph Walker, the original owner of the site.

Lockwood, platted in March, 1881, by W. J. Davis.

Pennsboro, named for Judge William Penn, a pioneer.

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DALLAS COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 10, 1844, as "Niangua County" and Dec. 16, 1844, name changed to Dallas in honor of George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, who had recently been elected Vice President.

Buffalo, county seat of Dallas county. It was named by Joseph F. Miles, when laid out in 1854 for his birthplace, Buffalo, N. Y., and the name was also suggested by the fact that the prairie on which located was known as "Buffalo Head Prairie." This name from the fact that a party of hunters, among whom was Samuel Griggsby, found on the prairie a skeleton head of a buffalo and placing it on a stake it became a noted landmark for hunters, travellers and immigrants. Miles was an Irishman and a bachelor, who first settled on the town site. In Appleton's Handbook of Northern travel, published in 1867, on a map of the western states, evidently out of date, there is marked at a crossroads where the town of Buffalo now stands, "Buffalo Head."

Tilden, named for Samuel J. Tilden, candidate for President in 1876.

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DAVIESS COUNTY.

Organized Dec. 29, 1836. "To be called the county of Daviess, in honor of Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who fell in the battle of Tippecanoe." Daviess was from Kentucky, and was killed Nov. 7, 1811.

Gallatin, county seat of Daviess county, was laid out by a commission consisting of Joseph Baxter, of Clay; Cornelius Gilliam, of Clinton and William W. Mauzee, of Ray. Named for Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under President Thomas Jefferson.

Altamont, means "High Mountain." So named because of its elevation of 1002 feet at the railroad depot.

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DEKALB COUNTY.

Organized Feb. 25, 1845. Named for Baron John DeKalb, a Frenchman of Revolutionary fame, who was killed in the battle of Camden in 1780.

Maysville, county seat of DeKalb county. By act Feb. 25, 1845, Henry Brown, of Andrew; Martin M. Nagle, of Clinton; and Peter Price of Daviess were commissioners to locate seat of justice. Maysville was located and surveyed by G. W. McPherson the same year.

Osborn, laid out by the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, and named for Col. William Osborn, of Waterville, N. Y.

Stewartsville, laid out in 1854 and named for Robert M. Stewart, one of the prime leaders as builders of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, and in 1857 elected as Governor of the State.

Weatherby, laid out in 1885, and named for Dr. L. H. Weatherby, a prominent physician of Maysville.

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CORRECTIONS.

AUDRAIN COUNTY.

Col. R. M. White, editor of the Mexico, (Mo.) *Ledger*, inserted in his paper of May 22, 1916, the following correction relating to Audrain County names. Similar comments are invited on this subject of the origin of Missouri names:

The statement published, that "Laddonia was named after

Amos Ladd, formerly a big property owner of Mexico, Mo.," is only partly true. The town was named after Mr. Ladd and his wife, whose name was Onia. The first part was after Mr. Ladd, and the latter part after his wife, making the name complete "Laddonia."

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BATES COUNTY.

Following additions and corrections relating to Bates County names were printed in the *Bates County Democrat*, Butler, Missouri, on May 18, by the editor, Sam. W. Davis:

Adrian was founded in 1880 and was named for the Michigan town of the same name by persons coming from that place.

Ballard was named for Hon. J. N. Ballard, presiding judge of the county court and afterward a state senator.

Burdett was named after Hon. S. S. Burdett of Osceola, a member of Congress from 1866 to 1870.

Culver was named for A. H. Culver, then a merchant in the small village and now a Butler hustler and secretary of the Commercial Club.

Elkhart was named for Elkhart, Indiana.

Foster was named for Hon. Charles Foster, a former governor of Ohio.

Hudson was named after Henry Hudson.

Maysburg was named for J. M. Mayes, a well known citizen of Mingo township.

Merwin was named after James G. Merwin, a promoter of the present Kansas City Southern Railway, then known as the Kansas City, Pittsburg and Gulf.

New Home was named by Judge S. F. Hawkins, a pioneer settler from Kentucky.

Nyhart was named for Noah Nyhart, a pioneer citizen of Bates county.

Papinville was named for Mellicourt Papin, a St. Louis fur trader.

Passaic was named for the town of the same name in New Jersey.

Prairie City was so named because of the beautiful prairies surrounding it.

Spruce was named after Spruce township.

Virginia was named in honor of the State of Virginia, because many of the residents were from the old state.

Worland was named after a druggist who went to Kansas to evade prosecution for violations of the liquor laws. He ran a drug store on the site of the town.

(NOTE: The *Bates County Democrat* also thought that Bates County was probably named in honor of Edward Bates. There is

only one authority to support this statement. This is found on pages 782-783 of the *History of Bates and Cass Counties*, published by the National Historical Company of St. Joseph, 1883. Since this authority does not give any evidence for its statement in favor of Edward Bates, and since many equally good authorities favor Frederick Bates, the presumption still is in favor of Mr. Eaton's contention, that Bates county was named in honor of Frederick Bates. Moreover, it is improbable that the Democratic legislature of Missouri of 1840-1841 would name a county in honor of such a prominent Whig leader as Edward Bates.)

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BOONE COUNTY.

Hon. John W. Jacks, editor of the *Montgomery Standard*, of Montgomery City, Missouri, writes under date of May 19, 1916, the following corrections on Boone county names. The Review appreciates this information.

Dear Sir:

"Referring to the article in The Historical Review regarding the names of towns, etc., in Boone county.

I lived in Sturgeon when that township company was in existence. The names of some of the men are not correct. John D. Patton should be "James D." Everybody there called him "Jim." John Rockford should be John Rochford, an H. instead of K. The widow McComas in Sturgeon is a daughter of John Rochford. N. B. Banks should be N. B. Burks. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte, and everybody called him "Nip" Burks. Mr. Patton died in Sturgeon some years ago, and Mr. Burks died in Fresno, California, a few years since. I thought perhaps you would like to have these names correct."

Very truly,

(Signed) John W. Jacks.

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The *Centralia Fireside Guard* of May 26, 1916, contained the following additional information in regard to Boone County names:

A BIT OF BOONE HISTORY.

We published an account last week of how the towns of the county got their names and we said the Lord only knew how Whoopup and Gallups Mills got their names. We have found out the origin of Whoopup.

In 1844 the big flood destroyed the old town of Nashville on the Missouri bottoms and afterward the Baptists and Methodists built Nashville church up on the ridge and it was called Nashville

or Dry Ridge Church. In time a co-operative store was built and other little industries came. The co-operative store was not highly successful nor large capitalized so it did not pay. The stockholders got hold of J. G. Roddy (a brother to our R. A. Roddy) to come and take charge of the store and pull them out of the hole, telling him if he would get the original capital back for them he could have the store. Mr. Roddy got busy and started trade coming his way. It was just called "the store at Dry Ridge" by the natives. One day the proprietor and his clerks were busy wrapping up goods and people who crowded the store were all clamoring to be waited on next, some man came in and said, "what is the name of this town? this is like a town store and it ought to have a name." Mr. Roddy was tying up a large bundle and he said, "whoopup, whoopup, that's the name of this store, Whoopup." So it went by that name for a long time until the postoffice was established there and they wanted a more dignified name. A young fellow by the name of Sapp was teaching school in the district, and as his name was not an ordinary one, was short and easy to say, they called the place Sapp, and it goes by that name today.

Well, to complete the story, J. G. Roddy paid the stockholders their money invested and they turned the store over to him and he made money out of it.

Gallup's Mill was so named after the old miller there who ran a grist mill for many years at the place. It was destroyed by fire in the 80s, if we mistake not, and was rebuilt.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS—JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL, 1916.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter*
Mar. 10. Early history of Andrew county recalled by anniversary of Platte Purchase.

Atchison County. Rock Port, *Atchison County Mail*
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of Ambrose Porter, pioneer and Civil War veteran.
Feb. 4. Sketch of the life of William Millsap, first white child born in Atchison county.
Feb. 25. Sketch of the life of Sharshel Brown, pioneer, plainsman and Confederate veteran.
——— Tarkio, *Avalanche*
Jan. 7. Bird's-eye view of Tarkio as it appeared in 1881 and in 1888.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Ledger*
Jan. 20. Audrain county's first recorded wedding licenses in 1837.
Feb. 17. Early days in Mexico. From a letter written by a settler in 1850.
Mar. 9. William Clark, the "Red Haired Chief"—Incidents in the life of great Missouri explorer.
April 6. With Doniphan in Mexico. From a letter written by a member of the Doniphan Expedition in 1847.
——— ——— *Message*
Jan. 13. Some Civil War experiences, by Joseph B. Botkin.

Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of B. F. Pierce, Civil War veteran and attorney in the famous Meeks Case.
——— ——— *Republican*
Jan. 27. Sketch of the life of C. G. Kelley, physician and Missouri legislator.
Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of William J. Brock, Missouri legislator.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*
Feb. 17. Sketch of the life of Capt. Givin McCustion, pioneer and Confederate veteran.

Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat*
April 13. A record of slavery days in Bates county.
April 20. Historical sketch of Johnstown, once the metropolis of Bates county.
——— ——— *Bates County Record*
Jan. 22. Some Bates county newspaper history since the Civil War.
——— ——— *Times* (Weekly)
Mar. 9. Early day history of Butler *Times*.

Benton County. Warsaw, *Benton County Enterprise*
Mar. 4. Early days at Warsaw, by M. T. Chastain.

Boone County. Centralia, *Courier*

Mar. 24. Recollections of school days in Boone county fifty years ago.

——— ——— *Fireside Guard*

Jan. 7. Reminiscences of Centralia, by Mrs. Lola Hays and others. See later issues.

Jan. 28. Recollections of pioneer life before Centralia was built, by Anna M. Wigginton-Conger.

Feb. 4. Centralia forty years ago, by J. A. Townsend.

School days in Boone county in 1854, by Mrs. Kate Loftland. See later issues.

Feb. 25. Recollections of early school days in Boone county, by J. T. Roberts.

Mar. 17. Early days in Hallsville. See later issues.

April 7. Recollections of early days in Centralia, by Mrs. A. M. Wigginton-Conger.

April 21. Centralia forty years ago, by J. A. Townsend.

——— Columbia, *Herald-Statesman*

Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of George W. Carson, Civil War soldier with Quantrell.

Feb. 17. Civil War reminiscences, by J. N. Quisenberry.

——— ——— *Times*

Feb. 10. Missouri's part in War of 1812, by F. A. Sampson.

——— ——— *Tribune*

Feb. 8. Columbia's railroad dream in 1837. Some early day railroad history in Boone county.

April 28. Some Boone county history as revealed by early day documents and receipts.

——— ——— *University Missourian*

Jan. 12. The University of former days. Reminiscences by members of the faculty.

Jan. 28. Some recollections of early days at University of Missouri.

Mar. 6. Recollections of early days in Columbia.

Mar. 14. Some University history with pictures of original Academic Hall.

Mar. 16. Reminiscences of early days in Columbia, by William Wingo.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*

Jan. 2. Historical sketch of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal church.

Jan. 5. Recollections of incidents in the life of Col. R. T. Van Horn, by Rev. Father P. F. Cooney.

Jan. 30. Reminiscences of St. Joseph in the eighties.

Mar. 12. Some phases of Missouri history to be recalled by the Platte Purchase pageant. See March 31.

Mar. 26. Some incidents in the lives of the Younger boys.

——— ——— *News-Press*

Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas H. Elfred, St. Joseph pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Jan. 31. Sketch of the life of S. S. Allen, early day Missouri River steamboat pilot.

April 29. Sketch of the life of Dr. Thomas E. Potter, first president Central Medical College, St. Joseph.

Butler County. Poplar Bluff, *Republican*

Feb. 10. Sketch of the life of Capt. Samuel A. Hogue, Civil War veteran.

Sketch of the life of Lawrence F. Tromly, former editor of Poplar Bluff *Republican*

Caldwell County. Breckenridge, *Bulletin*
Jan. 21. Recollections of a trip from Kentucky to Missouri on horseback in 1841, by Dr. J. S. Halstead.
Jan. 28. Reminiscences of early Missouri history, by Dr. J. S. Halstead. See later issues.
——— Hamilton, *Farmer's Advocate*
April 13. Sketch of the life of Capt. Samuel E. Turner, Civil War veteran.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette*
Feb. 10. Historical sketch of Concord Presbyterian church, established 1833.
——— Mokane, *Missourian*
Mar. 31. Genealogy of Kidwell family of Callaway county.

Camden County. Linn Creek, *Reveille*
Mar. 24. A. McClurg memorial—Some facts concerning the old home of former governor, Joseph W. McClurg in Linn Creek.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Republican*
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of Judge Robert G. Ranney.

——— Jackson, *Cash Book*
Feb. 10. Reminiscences of Cape Girardeau county forty years ago.
Mar. 9. The Round Pond Massacre—A Civil War tragedy in Cape Girardeau county.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*
Mar. 17. Sketch of the life of William S. Crouch, Missouri pioneer.
April 7. Sketch of the life of James A. Turner, Confederate veteran and county official.

Cass County. Drexel, *Star*
Jan. 20. Genealogy of the Lahman family, by Mrs. P. B. Smalley.
——— Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*
April 13. Some incidents in Missouri history recalled by John N. Willett. Cass County pioneer.
——— ——— *Cass County Leader*
Mar. 2. Early history of Freeman.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
Jan. 21. Business directory of Salisbury in 1869.

Christian County. Billings, *Times*
April 13. Sketch of the life of Fred Wren, editor of the Billings *Times*.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Courier*
Jan. 21. Historical sketch of the Greenleaf family, pioneers in Clark county. See later issue.
Feb. 4. Sketch of the life of Lieut. Joseph M. Morgan, Civil War veteran.
April 14. Memories of other days in Clark county, by Jasper Blines.
——— ——— *Free Press*
Mar. 3. Some Clark county history, by Jasper Blines.

——— ——— *Gazette-Herald*
Feb. 4. Sketch of the life of McDermott Turner, Missouri legislator.
Feb. 18. Clark county in early days. First of a series of historical sketches, by John Gilhousen. See later issues.

Mar. 31. Recollections of Clark county in early days, by J. W. Murphy.
April 7. The life and work of Jasper Blines, who first suggested the organization of a Clark County Historical Society. Reprinted from Burlington, Ia., *Saturday Evening Post.*

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Call* (Weekly)
Feb. 4. Recollections of old Prathersville, a town of former days.
——— Liberty, *Advance*
Feb. 4. The settlement and early day social life of Clay county, by D. C. Allen.
Feb. 11. An old time baptismal scene. Recollections of Liberty in 1851.
——— ——— *Tribune*
Jan. 21. Sketch of the life of John S. Story, Clay county pioneer and one of last two Clay county survivors of Doniphan expedition into Mexico.
Feb. 25. Settlement and early days of Mt. Gilead, Clay county. A paper written for the Alexander Doniphan Chapter, D. A. R.
Mar. 3. Bonnet show days at Big Shoal Church in the '30's. Recollections by D. C. Allen.
Mar. 10. Names of some of the early day settlers in Clay county.

Clinton County. Plattsburg, *Clinton County Democrat*
Feb. 18. Recollections of David R. Atchison as a public man.
April 7. Sketch of the life of Harry T. Herndon, Missouri legislator.
——— ——— *Leader*
Mar. 24. An early day incident in the life of Christopher C. Jones, Clinton county pioneer.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Post*
Jan. 28. History of Jefferson City Presbyterian church.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Advertiser*
Feb. 25. The "Millerites" and the end of the world. An incident of Boonville in 1844.
——— ——— *Republican*
Jan. 6. How Missourians received the news that Congress had refused to grant statehood. An incident in Old Franklin in 1817.
Jan. 13. How Ralls county got its name. An incident in the first Missouri legislature, September, 1821.
Jan. 20. "Ringtail" Painter, one of the quaint characters in first Missouri Legislature.
Jan. 27. Origin of David Barton's nickname, "Little Red."
Feb. 3. Civil War times in Missouri. From two Boonville letters written in 1861 on eve of the battle at Boonville.
A Missouri plan for the emancipation of slaves in 1827.
Feb. 24. Dueling in Missouri. Some early day duels.
Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Capt. C. E. Leonard, Civil War veteran.
——— Bunceton, *Eagle*
Mar. 17. Special farm edition. History of agriculture in Cooper county.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Vedette*
Feb. 24. Origin and historical sketch of Sixth Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, by J. W. Carmack.
Mar. 9. When the guerrillas sacked Melville, June, 1864, by a witness.
April 27. The first election in Dade county and other recollections of early days in Missouri.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*
April 6. Wanderers' Edition—Letters and reminiscences from former Daviess county citizens.

Douglas County. Ava, *Douglas County Herald*
Jan. 27. Sketch of the life of Ben J. Smith, editor of *Herald* 1894 to 1909.
April 13. Historical sketch of Ava High School.

Franklin County. New Haven, *Leader*
Mar. 24. Historical sketch of the St. Peters German Evangelical church.
———— Union, *Franklin County Tribune*
Jan. 7. Sketch of the life of Judge A. J. Seay, a Missouri pioneer jurist and Civil War veteran who became territorial governor of Oklahoma.
April 21. Incidents in the life of Col. David Murphy, Franklin county pioneer.

Gasconade County. Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Dominick Dufner, Civil War veteran.

Gentry County. Albany, *Ledger*
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of R. T. Canaday, Gentry county pioneer.
Jan. 13. Some Gentry county history from a poll book used in Athens township.
———— Stanberry, *Herald*
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of Charles Buholtz, Missouri legislator.

Greene County. Ash Grove, *Commonwealth*
April 6. Some incidents in the life of James S. Green, a forgotten Missouri statesman, by Cyrus Hopkins.
———— Springfield, *Leader*
Jan. 2. How Springfield looked in 1863. Recollections by William R. Gorton.
Jan. 9. Recollections of Springfield. First of a series of articles dealing with early days in Springfield. See also Jan. 20, 21, 26, 27.
Feb. 1. Recollections of Springfield. See also Feb. 3, 8, 17, 29. Mar. 2, 14.
Feb. 28. Sketch of the life of Judge C. B. M'Afee, pioneer Springfield attorney, Civil War veteran and member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.
Mar. 19. How the establishment of Drury College closed the rivalry between old and new Springfield.
April 20. Historical sketch of Cory, a thriving Dade county town of the seventies and rival of Joplin as chief mining town of the state.
———— ———— *Republican*
April 29. Some incidents in the life of Mrs. Phoebe Cary Farmer, Ozark pioneer and Missouri poetess.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper*
Mar. 2. Old home edition with reminiscences of early days in Harrison county.
April 27. Sketch of the life of Sanford M. Tilley, Harrison county pioneer and veteran of Mexican War.

Henry County. Windsor, *Review*

Jan. 6. Biographical sketch of John Slack, early Boone county pioneer and member of the first Board of Curators for the University.

Holt County. Mound City, *News-Jeffersonian*

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of T. C. Dungan, state senator from first district 1880.

——— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*

Feb. 11. Historical sketch of Oregon schools.

Mar. 3. History of Holt county circuit court, established in 1841—Some early day lawyers.

Mar. 10. Four Missouri governors who have committed suicide.

Mar. 17. Historical sketch of Holt county court, established 1841—Roster of county judges.

Mar. 24. Missouri's part in the Civil War.

Howard County. Armstrong, *Herald*

Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Dr. James S. Preston, first editor of Armstrong *Herald*.

——— Fayette, *Democrat-Leader*

Feb. 11. Howard county's place in history. Some great men the county has produced.

——— ——— *Howard County Advertiser*

Mar. 15. The story of Santa Fe Trail—Written as a thesis, by Guy Blakey.

——— Glasgow, *Missourian*

Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of Rev. Joseph H. Pritchett, former president of Howard-Payne and Pritchett Colleges.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*

Feb. 24. Early days in West Plains. Personal recollections of Benjamin Elder, pioneer.

Jackson County. Blue Springs, *Sni-a-Bar Voice*

April 7. How Sni-a-Bar Creek and township were named.

——— Independence, *Jackson Examiner*

April 28. Sketch of the life of William H. Gregg, lieutenant of Quantrell's Band.

——— Kansas City, *Journal*

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Robert T. Van Horn, pioneer, Civil War veteran and founder of Kansas City *Journal*.

Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Cole Younger.

——— ——— *Post*

Jan. 2. Recollections of Eugene Field, by J. S. Shryock.

Jan. 9. Historical sketch of First Congregational church established 1866.

How Kansas City was saved from the Confederates. Some Civil War history of Kansas City, by Col. R. T. Van Horn. With picture of old fort.

Jan. 16. When witches were burned in Missouri—Superstitions of the Indians and early Missouri settlers, by W. L. Webb.

Historical sketch of First English Lutheran church established 1867.

Jan. 30. William Clark—friend of the Indians.

Feb. 6. Three Indian princesses whose lives are interwoven with Missouri history, by W. L. Webb.

Feb. 13. A pioneer romance in Independence—an incident in the life of Col. A. W. Doniphan.
Feb. 20. Francis Xavier Aubrey, picturesque hero of the Santa Fe Trail, by W. L. Webb.
Santa Fe Trail days recalled by John W. Moore.
Feb. 27. Famous slander suit by which Thomas H. Benton was shorn of political power, by W. L. Webb.
Recollections of war days in Jackson county and reasons for sacking of Lawrence, by Mrs. Michael N. Womacks.
Mar. 5. Some Missouri pioneers to be named on state "Scroll of Fame."
Mar. 19. Union Cemetery—a record of the pioneers and early day incidents in Kansas City history.
Mar. 31. Historical sketch of Jackson county's first courthouse, with picture of old building erected 1827.
April 2. Independence as a former slave center. Some incidents of early days.
April 16. Reminiscences of guerilla troubles in Jackson county, 1865.

——————— ——————— *Star*

Jan. 2. How shall Missouri celebrate her hundredth birthday. Some landmarks in Missouri history.
Jan. 9. Personal recollections of Col. A. W. Doniphan and Thomas Hart Benton.
Some Jackson county history which might be made basis for Centennial Pageant.
Jan. 16. An English writer's vivid description of the Missouri border ruffians of 1856 and the sacking of Lawrence.
Jan. 23. The Palmyra Massacre—An incident of the Civil War.
Mar. 30. The French in Missouri history.
April 9. Missouri's first fast mail, April 3, 1860.
April 13. Review of life and work of William R. Nelson, written upon first anniversary of his death.

——————— ——————— *Sun*

Jan. 1. Historical sketch of negro masonry in Missouri. See later issues.

——————— ——————— *Times*

Jan. 1. Kansas City as it was in 1876. With pictures of business houses.
Feb. 22. A legend of Kansas City in the early thirties. See also issue of Feb. 29 with pictures of two historic springs.
April 8. Some history of Grand Avenue Temple as recalled by Dr. John N. Pierce, the first pastor.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

April 20. Sketch of the life of Capt. A. B. Deutsch, pioneer, Carthage merchant and financier.
Early days in Carthage as recalled at wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Alrich.

——————— Joplin, *News-Herald*

Jan. 6. When the James gang came to Joplin—Some incidents in the life of Dr. H. J. Freeman, Joplin pioneer.
Feb. 16. The Ferguson building, a landmark of early Joplin.
Feb. 20. The founding of Joplin and something of its founders.
Some pioneer families in Jasper county.
April 9. Death roll of Joplin pioneers from 1903 to 1916. Compiled by E. D. Pickett.
April 21. Recollections of Joplin as a mining town in 1872.
April 25. Sketch of the life of Dan K. Wenrich, Missouri miner, poet and composer.

April 28. Percy Wenrich, Missouri composer of popular music—a sketch of his life and work.

Johnson County. Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald*
Mar. 3. Pioneer days in Johnson county. From Holden *Enterprise*.

Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Theodore A. Coony, founder of *Knox County Democrat* at Edina, 1871.
April 6. Sketch of the life of Henry Mason, Knox county pioneer.
April 13. Edina forty years ago. From Quincy *Whig*, Nov., 1875.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Laclede County Republican*
Jan. 28. Sketch of the life of R. D. Walkinshaw, Missouri pioneer and Civil War veteran.

Lafayette County. Odessa, *Democrat*
Jan. 14. Some landmarks in Missouri history.
Jan. 28. Early days of Mormonism and the expulsion from Missouri.

Lewis County. Canton, *News*
Jan. 19. Fred C. Hibbard—Missouri sculptor. From a paper read before the Woman's club in Canton.
——— La Belle, *Star*
Jan. 28. Origin of the mail car—Early history of railway postal service in Missouri.
April 28. Sketch of the life of B. F. Thompson, lawyer and Lewis county official.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*
Feb. 13. Early history of Elsberry.
Feb. 25. Recollections of founding of Elsberry, by B. C. Welch.
April 7. Early days in Louisiana as recalled by the death of P. H. Baird, pioneer settler.

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*
Jan. 8. Historical sketch of Brookfield Grand Army Post with list of charter members.
Mar. 4. Historical sketch of First M. E. Church, Brookfield.
April 8. Franklin, a proposed Linn county town of the fifties which was blotted out by its rival—Brookfield.
April 15. A trip from Ohio to Missouri in 1864. The experiences of Judge John Welsh in Linn county in the early sixties with the names of some of the early settlers. See also April 22, 29.
——— ——— *Linn County Budget*
Mar. 28. Sketch of the life of John P. Sharp, Missouri pioneer.
April 14. Account of the organization and history of Brookfield Order of Elks.

Macon County. Macon, *Chronicle-Herald*
Mar. 15. Historical sketch of Bloomington and the old Overland Trail.
——— ——— *Republican*
Feb. 11. Historical sketch of Lingo, Macon county mining town.
Feb. 18. Early day railroading on the Hannibal and St. Joseph.

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*
Feb. 13. Sketch of the life of Thomas Cook, Madison county pioneer.

Marion County. Hannibal, *Journal*
Feb. 22. When four men owned all of Marion county—a bit of early history.
Mar. 19. Half of Hannibal sold for $800 in 1820—some interesting facts concerning early history of Hannibal.
Mar. 31. Recollections of the early day log schoolhouses in Missouri.
——— Palmyra, *Spectator*
April 12. Marion county's part in the Mexican War, 1846. List of names composing Marion county company.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Post*
Feb. 24. Early history of Mercer county and its people.
April 13. History of the Baptist church in Princeton, organized in 1848.
——— ——— *Telegraph*
Jan. 12. Recollections of the first shot of the Civil War in Missouri—An incident of war days in Linn county.
April 19. List of Civil War soldiers from Madison township, Mercer county.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*
Jan. 20. Pioneer life in Missouri. From a letter written by a settler in Cooper county, 1820.

Moniteau County. California, *Moniteau County Herald*
Feb. 3. Sketch of the life of George D. Ingersoll, former editor *Moniteau County Herald.*
April 20. Historical sketch of California lodges and other organizations.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *News*
Mar. 3. How a famous hymn came to be written—An account of the conditions under which Rev. David Nelson, a Marion county fugitive, wrote "The Shining Shore" in 1835.
Mar. 15. Some historic points along the Pikes Peak Highway in Missouri. From Macon *Republican.*
April 18. Recollections of the first "Pony Express" train from Hannibal to St. Joseph, 1860.
——— Paris, *Mercury*
Mar. 10. Little stories from old Paris—A description of the town as it was in the thirties, by Mrs. Clara Bodine Staverly.
Mar. 17. Little stories from old Paris—The old courthouses as social centers.
Mar. 24. Susan B. Anthony's visit to Paris.
April 7. "Uncle Abbey" and the beegum—Some incidents of Paris in the thirties.
April 28. Sketch of the life of C. B. M. Farthing, Monroe county pioneer and historian.
——— ——— *Monroe County Appeal*
Jan. 28. Recollections of Monroe county in 1855, by C. P. Kincaid.
Reminiscences of pioneer days in Paris, Missouri, by C. P. Kincaid.
Feb. 4. When Paris was a factory town—Historical sketch of early industrial development of Paris.
Mar. 3. Historical sketch of telephone systems of Monroe county.
Mar. 23. When Paris was a college town.
Mar. 30. Monroe county's part in the Civil War.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard*
Mar. 3. Reminiscences of the early days of the Montgomery *Standard.*

How coal was discovered in Macon county—Sketch of the development of the mining industry at Bevier.
Mar. 17. Sketch of the life of Judge James D. Barnett, circuit judge.
Mar. 24. Sketch of the life of E. Rosenberger, Missouri pioneer.

Newton County. Neosho, *Miner and Mechanic*
April 21. Historical sketch of Scarritt College, Neosho.

Nodaway County. Maryville, *Democrat-Forum*
Feb. 24. Sketch of the life of John Stundon, last surviving member Fremont expedition and Civil War veteran.

Osage County. Linn, *Osage County Republican*
Feb. 3. Recollections of early days in Osage county.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Argus*
Feb. 18. Sketch of the life of Dr. S. H. Steele, pioneer physician and legislator.
——— ——— *Democrat:*
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of William R. Lacey, editor Caruthersville *Democrat.*
Mar. 27. Historic events connected with old road from St. Louis to New Madrid and called "The King's Highway" by French and Spanish.

Pettis County. Sedalia, *Capital*
Feb. 9. The queer duel which ended the life of Spencer Pettis. History of the career of the man for whom Pettis county was named.
Mar. 18. Expansion edition dealing with the history and industrial development of Pettis county.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Post*
Jan. 5. Pioneer life in Pike county. From a biographical sketch of Mrs. Sarah Bland.
——— ——— *Times*
Mar. 23. History of Pike county's old courthouse, by Ralph Stewart. See also March 30.
Mar. 30. The pioneer experiences of J. E. Scott, early Missouri settler.
——— Louisiana, *Press Journal*
Jan. 20. History of old Buffalo Fort near Louisiana, begun 1813.
Feb. 10. Old landmarks of Louisiana, by P. H. Baird.
Mar. 2. The first store in Pike county, by I. Walter Basye.
April 6. Sketch of the life of J. B. Carstarphen, Pike county pioneer with an account of early day events in Louisiana.
Sketch of the life of P. H. Baird, Louisiana pioneer with an account of pioneer life in Missouri.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald*
Mar. 23. Industrial review of Polk county.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Times*
April 14. Historical sketch of Four Courts, famous old St. Louis building erected in 1866 and comprising criminal courts and city jail. From St. Louis *Times.*

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*
Feb. 11. Sketch of the life of May M. Burton, pioneer lawyer and legislator.

April 28. Recollections of commencement at Mount Pleasant College, Huntsville, 1869.

———— ———— *Times*

Feb. 29. Some of the early day experiences of Isaiah Lewis, pioneer who opposed removal of the county seat from Bloomington to Macon.

Ray County. Lawson, *Ray County Review*

April 6. Lawson in the seventies, by Robert J. Clark. See later issues.

———— Richmond, *Conservator*

Mar. 30. Some history of Methodist Episcopal church and Missouri.

———— ———— *Missourian*

Jan. 27. A. W. Doniphan and the hog thief—an incident of the early days in Lexington.

Mar. 2. Recollections of Camden, one time metropolis of Ray county.

Mar. 23. The early day church of Ray county.

Mar. 30. Recollections of Camden in 1858, by Rev. E. J. Stanley.

April 6. Agricultural edition with pictures of Ray county farm homes and Richmond industries.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor*

Feb. 16. Louis Blanchet, founder of St. Charles.

Feb. 23. History of St. Charles. From an old book published in 1835.

Mar. 8. St. Charles and the Santa Fe Trail. See later issues.

Mar. 22. St. Charles in Benton's day.

April 19. Historical sketch of St. Charles Borroneo Parish, established by French in eighteenth century.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal*

Mar. 2. Historical sketch of the churches of Appleton City.

———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Republican*

Mar. 2. Reminiscences of early days in Southwest Missouri, by Rev. W. W. Green. See later issues.

St. Francois County. Bonne Terre, *Register*

Mar. 17. How the settlers lived sixty-five years ago.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*

Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Rev. Thomas Shaw, Missouri priest, author and educator.

Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of Dr. John Dinsbeer, Civil War veteran who served in bodyguard of Gen. Fremont.

Jan. 23. Pioneer life as R. D. Duckworth found it when he came to Livingston county in the late thirties.

Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of James Taussig, pioneer St. Louis lawyer.

Mar. 26. How a country lawyer with 1000 men once conquered North Mexico—Historical account of Doniphan Expedition.

April 12. Sketch of the life of David Murphy, Civil War veteran and St. Louis judge.

April 21. Sketch of the life of J. A. Henderson, first probate judge of St. Louis county.

———— *Republic*

Jan. 7. Sketch of the life of Charles W. Knapp, Missouri journalist.

St. Louis County. Clayton, *Argus*

Feb. 4. Historical sketch of Webster Groves Congregational church and reminiscences of fifty years ago.

April 7. Sketch of the life of J. A. Turner, Confederate veteran and former public official.

——————— Kirkwood, *Courier*

Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. B. Wilde, Civil War veteran.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News*

Jan. 27. The Sappington family and early days in Saline.
The pioneer home of the Marshall family, one of Saline county's historic spots.
Historical sketch of Grand Pass, famous landmark on Santa Fe Trail.

Feb. 3. Saline county's courthouses.
Salt springs, scene of flourishing salt works in early days.

Feb. 10. Sketch of the life of Thomas C. Rainey, pioneer and historian.
Historical sketch of "Experiment," home of the Smith family since 1826.

Feb. 17. The last Indians in Saline county—Early day Indian troubles and removal of Sacs and Foxes, 1843.

Feb. 24. George C. Bingham, Saline county's famous artist.
The work of J. B. Jones, Arrow Rock merchant, who became one of Missouri's pioneer novelists.

Mar. 9. Fairville of other days.

Mar. 23. Missouri's war governors—Jackson and Gamble, as fellow-pioneers in Saline county.

Mar. 30. The beginnings of Marshall in 1830.

April 27. Sketch of the life of A. C. Stewart, St. Louis lawyer.

——————— ——————— *Saline County Progress*

Jan. 7. Saline county pioneers—Series of sketches by Dr. Chastain. See later issues.

April 28. With General Marmaduke in Arkansas. Some Civil War recollections by Capt. J. H. Allison.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Democrat*

Feb. 3. Some early day Scotland county history.

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*

April 14. Historical sketch of "King's Highway," famous old trail used by French traders in eighteenth century.

Shelby County. Shelbina, *Democrat*

Mar. 8. Shelby county as it was in 1857. From an old letter written by a pioneer.

Stone County. Crane, *Chronicle*

Jan. 13. Pioneer days in the Ozarks.

Jan. 27. Recollections of pioneer life in Stone county.
Stone county in the day of the Indians.

Taney County. Branson, *White River Leader*

April 14. Stories of the pioneers. No. 18 in a series of reminiscences of early days in Missouri.

——————— Forsyth, *Taney County Republican*

Feb. 3. Sketch of the life of David Smithson, Mexican War veteran.

Texas County. Cabool, *Enterprise*

Feb. 17. Houston and the Ozarks—Some Ozark people of state and national prominence. See later issues. March 9.

Webster County. Marshfield, *Chronicle*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Rufus S. Phillips, Missouri legislator.

Worth County. Grant City, *Star*
Jan. 21. Fort Bram—An episode of the Civil War in Bates county.
Feb. 14. History of Worth county from 1840 to 1876.
———— ———— *Worth County Times*
Feb. 24. Worthville, first county seat of Worth county—Some early day history.
———— ———— *Worth County Tribune*
Feb. 2. Recollections of pioneer days in Worth county.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

William Rockhill Nelson, a tribute in biographical form by members of the staff of the *Kansas City Star*, is one of the books recently received by this Society. The book is an absorbingly interesting story of a man, a newspaper and a city. It is noteworthy as the first really intimate view into the personality of the editor of the *Star*. Most great men are also public men; Col. Nelson was not. He never frequented clubs, he rarely entertained and consistently refused to take a prominent part in banquets and public meetings. Until the very latest years no sketch of him had ever appeared in any newspaper or magazine. To most of the people of his own city he was a sort of a mythical character. Most of them had never seen him. Col. Nelson's natural distaste to anything smacking of formality or show was accentuated by a theory that an editor had no business to have friends. They would be apt to influence him away from his line of duty, he believed. As a result he always sought to sink his own personality in his newspaper. It was not Col. Nelson, he would have it understood, but the *Star* that accomplished things.

As a biography the book is a valuable contribution to Missouri literature, not alone because of the place of Col. Nelson as a figure unique in American journalism, but because of the authoritative nature of the material contained therein. To few men was given the privilege of knowing Col. Nelson as his employees knew him. The editorial rooms of the *Star* furnished a concrete example of the democratic ideas of the editor. Col. Nelson's desk was in plain view and he sat at it every day. Any man in the room could go to him freely and feel perfectly at ease. The members of his staff, Col. Nelson affectionately called "The *Star* family." From the human side few others have had an opportunity to know him. His beliefs, and his ideals, his habits and eccentricities were all matters of common knowledge to his fellow workers on the *Star*.

As a contribution to Missouri history the book is noteworthy because it is essentially concerned with some of the forces most potent in formulating present day thought in Missouri and the Middle West. The new ideas of government, the liberal and progressive movements of the last twenty years which have had their origin in the states of the Middle West, giving rise to new political and social ideals, have centered largely around the *Kansas City Star* and the other forces of public opinion which take their leadership from the *Star*. Its influence upon newspaper standards and upon political and social life in this section has undoubtedly been very great. "Mr. Nelson," wrote William Allen White in 1915, "literally gave color to the life and thought and aspirations of ten millions of people living between the Missouri River and the Rio Grande in the formative years of their growth as commonwealths. . . The aspirations of the people were caught by his sensitive brain, and he gave these aspirations back in the *Star* policies. Kansas, Western Missouri, Oklahoma, Northern Texas, New Mexico and Colorado form a fairly homogeneous section of our population. That section has grown up on the *Star*. Its religion, its conception of art, its politics, its business, its economic scale of living reflect the influence of the indomitable mind of the man behind the Star."

Col. Nelson, through the *Star*, was one of the pioneers in the demand for clean journalism. His was one of the first journals in America to bar liquor advertising from its columns and his ideas of the newspaper as a public servant has ushered in a whole new epoch in American journalism. Along with his ideas of the responsibility of the newspaper to its readers came the introduction of a new policy in regard to newspaper campaigns. The *Star* office became a veritable university for the dissemination of information in regard to good roads, municipal government, city building and civic beauty and health. Never did he enter upon a campaign in a haphazard way. Before inaugurating a campaign for a park and boulevard system for Kansas City, Col. Nelson and the members of his staff studied the subject in all its details. He secured all the available information on park

acquisition and maintenance in other cities. He devised plans of procedure and methods for obtaining the best for the greatest number in the location of his pleasure grounds. He experimented with shade trees. He studied grasses and sods to determine which was best for the ornamentation of grass plots.

For any new plan that would give the people more control over the government the *Star* could be counted upon for support. Col. Nelson sent reporters to cities with commission government to write up the plan and not only did he use the columns of the *Star*, but he insisted upon paying the expenses of reporters who went out upon invitation from cities to speak upon the subject of commission government or other features of municipal life. "You must remember," he often said, "that a reporter has something to do besides sitting at a desk and writing."

In his newspaper policy, Col. Nelson was ever a progressive and a fighter of the militant type. In his denunciation of graft and corruption he did not take the trouble to be gentle. As Mark Sullivan of *Collier's* puts it, "he took his place in Journalism's Hall of Fame by kicking in the door with hobnailed boots." This championship of the people, and of civic righteousness constantly brought him into conflict with folks who had an ax to grind. No man ever had more bitter or more aggressive enemies, but his enemies constituted a really important element in Col. Nelson's life. They were the gauge of his newspaper success. "The most clubs," he once said, "are always lying under the best apple tree."

IVAN H. EPPERSON.

* * * *

The April, 1916, number of the *Journal of History* (Vol. IX. No. 2) published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is devoted entirely to the tragic story of the early Missouri-Mormon history. Manuscripts, newspapers, records, and secondary works are reproduced and much new and important information is set forth. The territory covered includes the following Missouri counties, in all of which the Mormons settled and

struggled: Jackson, Daviess, Caldwell, Ray and Carroll. Their most bitter experiences were in the first three. The expulsion of these people from Jackson, their forced emmigration from the north Missouri River counties, and the conflicts in other places, all culminating in the tragedy at Far West, are vividly described in this publication, principally by means of inserted reprints and extracts from other publications. Some current popular ideas that have persisted in obtaining credence are contradicted. The so-called "Adam's Grave" in Daviess county is thus commented: "Above the house on the crown of the hill, still plainly visible is the old 'Nephite Altar' known in the neighborhood as 'Adam's Grave.' The superstitious still tell of lights seen there on Friday nights, and that Adam comes out on these occasions. Where these traditions originated we do not know for there is no record of the Latter Day Saints claiming, in that early day, that Adam was buried there." (p. 139.)

The articles are interestingly written and are well illustrated. The publication is readable throughout and will prove of service to the future historian who attempts to compile a history of these people during their early settlements in the State.

* * * *

The monthly bulletin for February, 1916, (Vol. XIV, No. 2) of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture, contains information on local Missouri history and descriptive. This pamphlet is on "*A Rural Survey of Morgan County, Missouri*" and represents two years work on the part of the teachers of that county, M. Wray Witten, county superintendent of public schools, and W. L. Nelson, assistant secretary of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture. The co-operation of school children, business men, farmers, and the Versailles Commercial Club was enlisted and much data was secured relating to rural and urban conditions in Morgan county. Information relating to educational, religious and economic conditions in the county was especially desired. Pioneer schools, courthouses and farms are given a prominent place in the compilation, which is well illustrated, and comparisons are made with 20th century environments.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS.

Missouri and The Santa Fe Trade, by Dr. F. F. Stephens, Professor of History in the University of Missouri, is the most valuable and scholarly monograph on this subject we have read. The critical historical method is employed and the result is a lasting contribution on this fascinating subject. Human interest is present not in individuals but in the great organization of men back of Missouri's commerce with the old Southwest. The first article on this subject treats with clearness and accuracy the *Attitude of the National Government* to the Trade. No scholarly exposition of this legal and military side has been met with heretofore. Future articles will consider equally undeveloped, though fundamental phases of the Trade.

* * * *

Mr. David W. Eaton's excellent articles on Missouri names will continue through the coming year. The first of these, which appeared in the April *Review*, was widely commented on by the Press of the State and interested a large number of persons. Comments and criticism are desired by Mr. Eaton, whose address is Norma, Virginia, and corrections will gladly be made to the county names already printed.

* * * *

The reception given Prof. C. H. McClure's article on Benton, in the April *Review*, was most gratifying to Missouri history workers. One newspaper, the Ste. Genevieve *Democrat*, printed it on the front page with attractive headlines. Others gave extracts from it, and a number commented on its value. This popularizing of State history is needed.

* * * *

Missouri journalists are exploiting the local history field more every month. The lists of *Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers* is growing in size and value. Workers in Missouri history are beginning to appreciate their worth and several neighboring Historical Societies are planning to adopt the Missouri idea. Missouri editors and writers will find many suggestions in these lists that are applicable to their own districts. This exploiting of the popular local history field by the press is worth while, and will receive proper encouragement from the readers of the city and country newspapers.

* * * *

GENERAL.

Missouri Centennial Celebrations in 1916:

At least three Centennial Celebrations will be held in Missouri this year. One of them will be of Statewide importance to the Methodists, another to the Presbyterians, and the last to the inhabitants of Howard County, the "Mother of Counties." All three celebrations commemorate events of historic importance in Missouri and none is entirely local in character.

Howard County soon will be a century old, and the towns in this subdivision of Missouri are planning a great birthday party to be held at Fayette, August 16. A temporary committee, consisting of representatives of all of the ladies' clubs of Fayette, citizens and members of the City Council, with A. L. Kirby as chairman, has the preliminary arrangements in charge. This committee plans making the committee county wide in its scope and organization. A Visitation and Campaign Committee, consisting of Charles Givens, Charles Eubank, R. W. Payne, Boone Deny, W. G. Lockridge, was appointed to visit the city councils of Armstrong, Glasgow and New Franklin to enlist the co-operation of those towns in the enterprise.

* * * *

The celebration of the centennial of the organization of the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will be held at Fayette beginning August 30. A program of special sermons and addresses is being arranged for September 3 and 4, the official days of the celebration. Bishop E. R. Hendricks of Kansas City, by special request of the conference will preside.

A bronze memorial tablet bearing a significant historical statement will be placed in Centenary Chapel, Fayette, during the session.

The Missouri Conference was organized in 1816 at Shiloh Meeting House, St. Clair County, near Lebanon, Ill. William McKendree, who was the first Presiding Elder in Missouri and was elected Bishop in 1808, presided. The first session of the conference held in Missouri was in 1819 at McKendree Chapel near Cape Girardeau, which was built for the occasion.

When the first conference was held in 1816 the three Territories of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri (including Arkansas) were included in the conference. There were then only 19 circuits with 3,100 white and 73 colored members. During the 100 years of the history of the conference 36 other conferences have been organized in the three original States and others to which the influence of the conference has extended stretching from Oklahoma and Arkansas on the south, to Wisconsin, Minnesota and Dakota on the north, and from Indiana on the east, to Montana on the west.

The first session of the conference held in the present bounds of the Missouri Conference north of the Missouri River was held at Fayette Camp Ground, two miles west of Fayette, in 1828.

The conference will be entertained in the dormitories of the Central and Howard-Payne colleges. Besides the ministers and laymen from the Missouri Conference, large delegations from the St. Louis and Southwest Missouri Conference will also attend. The Fayette church is planning to entertain 1,000 visitors during the conference.

* * * *

On August 12, 1916, Washington County will observe the centennial of the founding of the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi River. This church was established and organized in Bellevue Valley, ten miles south of Potosi.

Hon. Louis Houck in his *History of Missouri*, volume III, pages 227, ff., gives the following sketch of this pioneer church and its founder:

"The Rev. Salmon Giddings . . . arrived in St. Louis in August, 1816. He was the real pioneer Presbyterian missionary of St. Louis. This Rev. Giddings was one of the most quiet, patient, plodding, self-denying and faithful missionaries the Presbyterians or Congregationalists ever sent to this country. His labors were for some time wholly itinerant. He visited the villages and settlements along the Mississippi searching for persons who had been members of the Presbyterian church, as wandering sheep, to gather them into the fold. Thus he collected and organized on August 12, 1816, the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi River, in Bellevue Valley, ten miles south of Potosi. Here as early as 1807, there were settled four Presbyterian elders belonging to some church in North Carolina, that did not, as many others have done, hide their light under a bushel, but bore it with them to their new home. Their practice was to meet every Sabbath and hold a prayer meeting and read a sermon, generally one of President Davis', and thus they continued until the Methodists came, when they worshipped with them until the arrival of Dr. Giddings. Robert M. Stevenson, one of the leading members of the congregation, writes Mr. Hempstead that the people were very much pleased with the preaching of Mr. Giddings, but that they would have some difficulty to organize a church so as to give no offence to Jew or Gentile nor the church of God. 'My dear friend', he says, 'I cannot express the gratitude I feel to the great head of the church for sending the blessed gospel among us in this wilderness * * * less than fifteen years ago the haunt of savage beasts or more savage men.' On September 7, 1817, the Rev. Thomas Donnel took charge of Bellevue church and remained there for more than 25 years, being

installed as pastor in 1818 by the Rev. Giddings. Donnel was from North Carolina, a man of respectable ability as a preacher and 'as a Christian had no superior.' "

* * * *

California Gold Hunting Expedition: The following interesting letter and document were sent the Society by Mr. Frisby H. McCullough, of Edina, Mo.:

May 13, 1916.

Dear Sir:—

I hereby hand you a true copy of an Agreement, entered into between the signatories thereto, in 1849, for a "Gold Hunting," expedition to California. I think this document may be of some interest, and I have the original document, which has been in the possession of Mrs. Millie Moore, of La Belle, Mo., since its execution. I am a son of the Frisby H. McCullough therein named, and Mrs. Moore is his sister.

The party made the trip to California, under this agreement, and all of them did not return. I have lost track of Malcolm Murray. S. Hooper Mitchell and James T. McCullough returned and died in Maryland. James T. McCullough practiced law in Elkton, Md., for many years before his death, which occurred in 1888, and at one time was a member of the Maryland State Senate. Andrew H. McCullough died in California, and Frisby H. McCullough returned to Missouri, enlisted in the Confederate Army, rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and was captured and shot by the notorious Gen. John McNeill, after the battle of Kirksville, on August 8, 1862. At the time this agreement was concluded, all the parties thereto, resided in Marion county, Missouri. They were farmer boys and lived near Emerson in that county.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) F. H. McCullough.

Following is a copy of the agreement:

"Articles of Agreement, made and concluded on this 23rd day of April, A. D. 1849, by and between, the parties herein-after named, and for the purposes herein set forth, Witnesseth, that whereas Systen M. Fall, Malcolm Murray, Samuel Hooper Mitchell, James T. McCullough, Andrew H. McCullough and Frisby H. McCullough, have this day associated themselves in an expedition to California, for the purpose of digging and washing the precious metal, said there to exist in large quantities. Now therefore, the aforesaid

parties jointly and severally bind and obligate themselves to do all that lies in their power for the benefit of the company, to carry out the objects of the expedition, and to this end, in all cases to abide by the decision of the majority where a difference of opinion exists, so in case a captain is appointed by the Company, to be governed by his directions. It is further agreed, in case anyone should be disabled by sickness or accident, that no part of his share in the Company shall be deducted, so long as he shall act in good faith. It is also agreed, in case of any of the parties die during the existence of the Company that their or his wife and children, or legal representatives, shall be entitled, nevertheless, to a full share of the profits of the expedition, and the survivors shall account to them for the same. It is agreed that the Company hereby formed shall exist for the term of one year or such longer period as the parties named herein shall see proper. It is agreed further, that the parties to this agreement shall each be entitled to an equal share in the profits of the expedition.

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and date aforesaid.

Malcolm Murray (SEAL)
S. Hooper Mitchel, (SEAL)
James T. McCullough, (SEAL)
A. H. McCullough, (SEAL)
Frisby H. McCullough, (SEAL).

* * * *

Journalism Week:

Ten Missouri associations united in making the Seventh Annual Journalism Week, May 1—5, 1916, a succession of interesting programs and five days of sociability. Journalism Week, the first institution of its kind, was founded by the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri as an annual event in the spring of 1910. It still holds a unique position in having the largest attendance. The school of Journalism at the University of Missouri is the oldest in the United States, and, in attendance, the largest.

This year's Journalism Week marked one distinct departure from former ones. This was the Merchants' Program on May 3d. A short course in the journalist's school of commerce was this program, and the attendance from St. Louis and other parts of the State fully justified it.

PERSONAL.

HON .W. J. BROCK, farmer and legislator, died at his home near Shell Knob, Barry county, March 8, 1916. Mr. Brock spent his entire life in Barry county, where he was born near Cassville, November 26, 1860. He was educated in the Cassville school and Clark's Academy, Berryville, Arkansas. In 1892 he was sent as a representative from Barry county to the Missouri Legislature where he served two successive terms. Aside from his work as a legislator, Mr. Brock's activities included those of teacher, farmer, merchant and a short time as postmaster at Shell Knob.

* * * *

HON. CHARLES BUHOLTZ, farmer and Missouri legislator, died in St. Joseph, Dec. 30, 1915. A native of Germany, where he was born April 22, 1839, in the province of Westphalen, Mr. Buholtz came to America at the age of eleven years, first settling in Illinois. He came to Missouri in 1870, and spent the remainder of his life in Nodaway and Gentry counties. In 1892 he was sent to the legislature as a representative from Nodaway county. He was a Democrat and a Mason.

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HON. MAY M. BURTON,Jr., Randolph county pioneer and Missouri legislator, died at Higbee, February 6, 1916. Only a little more than a year after Missouri's admission as a state, Mr. Burton was born—Dec. 14, 1822—in Randolph county. His family being in good circumstances, the lad was given the best educational advantages which the time afforded. During an active life Mr. Burton was successfully employed as school teacher, farmer, legislator, merchant and county official. From 1856 to 1858 he represented Randolph county in the legislature. In 1870 he was elected judge of the county court where he served eight years.

* * * *

HON T. C. DUNGAN, Missouri lawyer and legislator, died at his home in Oregon, Holt county, Missouri, January 3, 1916. Forty-eight years ago, November, 1867, Mr. Dungan, then a young man just admitted to the bar, came to Oregon and opened a law office. His exceptional educational advantages as a student in the Vermillion Institute, Ohio, his later experience as a teacher and his untiring energy and devotion to his profession, not only won for him a place at the bar, but a recognized ability as a financier as well. At the time of his death Mr. Dungan was one of the best known lawyers of northwest Missouri and with approximately 6,000 acres of farm land in his name, was the largest land owner in Holt county. As a Republican he was successively elected to the offices of city attorney of Oregon, 1868; circuit attorney, 1873; and later prosecuting attorney of Holt county. In 1880 he was elected to the State senate from the First District, embracing Holt, Atchison, Nodaway and Andrew counties. Mr. Dungan was born in Belmont county, Ohio, April 3, 1840. Throughout the Civil War he served in an Ohio company. After the war he came to Missouri and became one of the pioneers in Holt county. He made the first set of abstract books used in that county and at the time of his death was the oldest practitioner of the Holt county bar.

* * * *

HON. HARRY T. HERNDON, Kansas City attorney and former Missouri Legislator, who died March 31, was born near Weston in Platte county, Missouri, May 5, 1876. As a youth he attended the public schools of his county, the private school of Prof. F. G. Gaylord and finally the State University at Columbia where he was graduated from the school of Law in 1892. Returning to Plattsburg after his graduation he began there the practice of law which he continued in Kansas City after 1912, first as a member of the law firm of Hamilton and Herndon, and later as a private practitioner. During his residence in Plattsburg Mr. Herndon was active in politics. As city attorney of Plattsburg, as prosecuting attorney of Clinton county and finally as representative from that county

in the Missouri Legislature, 1910-1912, he faithfully served his town and county. He was a Democrat and a member of the Episcopal church.

* * * *

DR. C. G. KELLEY, Civil War veteran, physician and former Missouri legislator, died at his home in Newton county, Jan. 26th. Born in Johnson county, Illinois, Jan. 7, 1840, he came to Missouri when fifteen years of age, first settling in Montgomery county. At the outbreak of the Civil War he became a captain in the Union Army. After the war Dr. Kelley devoted his time to farming and to the practice of medicine. It was while practicing medicine at Eagle Rock in Barry county that Dr. Kelley was chosen to represent that county in the legislature. He served one term, 1905 to 1907.

* * * *

CHARLES W. KNAPP, for many years editor and publisher of the *St. Louis Republic*, died in New York City, January 7, 1916. Mr. Knapp was the last representative of a family of noted newspaper men whose work has been closely identified with the progress of American journalism since 1827. From the time when he first entered the newspaper office as a clerk, almost fifty years ago, until his resignation last December to go to the *New York Times*, Mr. Knapp put into his work the best of his personality, his energy and business sagacity. What William R. Nelson was to the *Kansas City Star* or Capt. Henry King to the *Globe-Democrat*, Charles W. Knapp was to the *Republic*.

Mr. Knapp was born in St. Louis, January 23, 1848, and as a youth became familiar with the "newspaper game" in the office of his father, who owned a controlling interest in the old *Missouri Republican*, predecessor of the present *St. Louis Republic*. In 1865 he was graduated from St. Louis University with the degree of A. B., and two years later received the degree of A. M. In 1867 the degree of LL. B. was conferred upon him by the University of Kentucky and the degree of LL. D. by the St. Louis University in 1904.

It was in 1867 that young Knapp entered the office of his father as a clerk in the business office. Through the various stages of the newspaper profession, as reporter, as editor of the *Weekly Republican*, as special representative for his paper in Washington, young Knapp rose rapidly and in 1887, shortly preceding the death of his father, he became president of the publishing house of George Knapp & Co.

Mr. Knapp was one of the organizers and incorporators of the Associated Press and of the Newspaper Publishers' Association. He was a member of the board of directors of the Associated Press at the time of his death. His high ideals and the deep sense of responsibility which he always felt as a newspaper man are indicated in these words to a newly engaged editorial writer: "I want no man to express any views in his writings here with which he is not himself in cordial sympathy. Whatever else the editorial page of the Republic may stand for, I have always liked to think it stood for conscience."

* * * *

JUDGE C. B. M'AFEE, soldier, lawyer, jurist and one of the few surviving members of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, died at his home in Springfield, Missouri, February 28, 1916. Born in Fayette county, Kentucky, near Lexington, March 28, 1829, he moved with his parents to Shelby county, Missouri, while yet a child. As a youth he studied law with his uncle, John M'Afee, who was later speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives. Young M'Afee was commissioned a captain in the Third Missouri Cavalry when the Civil War broke out, and at the time of its close was commander of the Union post at Springfield.

In 1866 he formed a law partnership with John S. Phelps, who was later to become governor of Missouri. During their partnership the law office of M'Afee and Phelps was the meeting place for Democratic caucuses of the State, both men being recognized party leaders of the period following the war. It was during this period of Missouri history, 1868, that Judge M'Afee made his first race for Congress. So intense was the feeling at the time that on many occasions while

making campaign speeches, he was obliged to lay a revolver upon the table in front of him as a protection for his life. He was defeated for Congress in 1868 and a second time in 1872. In 1875 he was chosen to represent his district in the convention which framed Missouri's present constitution. In later life Judge M'Afee served four years as judge of the Greene county Criminal court, from 1896 to 1900.

Although generally unsuccessful as a politician in the matter of being elected to office, throughout his lifetime Judge M'Afee was continually associated with some of the most noted political men of his time in Missouri, including Crittenden, Vest, Cockrell, Phelps, Philips and others.

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HON. RUFUS S. PHILLIPS, lawyer and Missouri legislator, died at his home in Marshfield, Missouri, March 15, 1916. Born in the State of Texas, October 27, 1865, he moved with his parents to Missouri and settled in Laclede county. Here the boy obtained his education in the common schools and in Morrisville and Drury Colleges. After teaching school a few years he began the study of law. In 1900 Mr. Phillips was chosen to represent Laclede county in the legislature, serving one term. After moving to Marshfield he served one term as prosecuting attorney of Webster county.

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Gov. A. J. SEAY, Civil War veteran, banker, jurist and later one of the territorial governors of Oklahoma, died at Long Beach, Cal., Dec. 22, 1915. At a time when the greater part of southern Missouri was unsettled he came to Osage county with his parents from Virginia, where he was born Nov. 28, 1832. In this new western country he shared the hard lot of the settler. Schools were few and even such educational advantages as the time afforded were not easily available to him. By constant application he acquired enough knowledge to become a teacher himself and after teaching two or three terms entered the academy at Steelville. He was soon forced to give up his school work here because

of the death of his father. About this time a copy of Chitty's Blackstone fell into his hands and in the intervals between school teaching and farming he began the study of law. In 1860 he entered the law offices of Pomeroy and Seay as janitor and student and early in 1861 was admitted to the bar.

The opening of the war prevented the practice of his profession and in August, 1861, young Seay joined Company C. of Phelps' regiment of Missouri volunteers to fight for the Union. Through the ranks of lieutenant, major and lieutenant colonel he rose to colonel and participated in some of the hardest fighting of the war.

After the close of the war Colonel Seay returned to Steelville, August 1865, and was immediately elected prosecuting attorney of Crawford county. He served until 1871 when he resigned to begin the practice of law. A year later he became the Republican nominee for Congress in the Fifteenth district against Richard P. Bland, but was defeated. In 1874 he declined the office of circuit judge to again make the race against Bland for Congress. The two men were close personal friends but differed widely upon their views of public questions. Bland was a free silver advocate while Seay was a believer in the so-called "sound money" principles. During the heated campaign which followed the two men engaged in more than forty joint debates. Bland was re-elected but the speeches of Seay gave him such prominence that upon the death of Peter B. McCord, the newly elected circuit judge, in December following the election Seay was elected to fill the vacancy. He was re-elected in 1880, but declined to make the race again in 1886 and resumed his practice of law in Union, Franklin county.

Judge Seay always considered his most noteworthy act during the twelve years on the bench the part he took in the great railway strike of 1885 at Pacific. When he heard of this trouble he went to Pacific and opened court for the purpose of issuing an injunction restraining the strikers from destroying property or interfering with the operations of the railroads. He contended that government by injunction was the best kind of government, that it was better to prevent

a man from doing an unlawful act than to punish him for it afterward.

After his retirement from the bench Judge Seay devoted his time to the practice of law and to his varied business interests until the early part of 1890 when he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma by President Harrison. He served as judge for two years and was then appointed governor of the territory. In the summer of 1893, the Cleveland administration having come into office, he was removed and a Democratic governor appointed in his place. After this time Judge Seay never held public office, but the last years of his life were closely identified with the development of Oklahoma both as a territory and as a state.

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Dr. STEPHEN H. STEELE, pioneer physician and Missouri legislator, died at his home in Caruthersville, February 17, 1916. Dr. Steele was born in Ripley, Tennessee, Oct. 29, 1830, and in 1865 came to Missouri, first settling at Cottonwood Point, at that time one of the chief towns of Pemiscot county. Having taken up the study of medicine in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1851, he completed his education in the University of Pennsylvania from which he was graduated with honors in 1854. In addition to his sixty-two years in the practice of medicine, Dr. Steele's activities also extended into the field of politics. In 1874 he was chosen to represent his county in the legislature. In 1886 he was elected to two offices—associate judge for the second district and probate judge. He was re-elected to the former in 1888 and in 1890 was elected presiding judge and re-elected as probate judge. In 1880, Dr. Steele moved to Caruthersville which he found a straggling river town of less than one hundred inhabitants. During later life he served for a time as postmaster and also as mayor of Caruthersville.

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sided personality and wide range of knowledge, former governor T. T. Crittenden said of him in 1909:

"I think Col. Van Horn was one of the ablest men in the state during the dreadful times of the Civil War, and I now believe he had the largest fund of knowledge of Missouri, executive, judicial, legislative and military, of any one then or now living in the state. Not a movement was made by either side during the war which he did not comprehend. Not a piece of legislation passed in the state for the last fifty years with which he is or was not acquainted and there has not been a prominent man in the state for fifty years whose movements and actions he has not fully understood."

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and the fight was on between the slavery and anti-slavery forces for the control of Kansas.

The early days of the *Journal* were in keeping with the beginnings of such enterprises upon the frontier. The paper upon which the *Journal* was printed was brought up the river from St. Louis on a steamboat. In 1868 when the paper became a daily the first telegraph news service was obtained from St. Louis over a telegraph wire completed to Boonville, from which point the telegraph reports were forwarded by express. After spending the greater part of forty years with the *Journal*, Col. Van Horn sold his interest in the paper in 1896 and retired from active newspaper work.

Born May 19, 1824, in the little village of East Mahoning, Pennsylvania, he inherited from his Dutch ancestry those qualities of patriotism, integrity, thrift and industry which carried him over the many hardships of his early life. His limited education was secured from the common schools of the day in the intervals between farm tasks. His early life covered a wide range of activities. He worked upon his father's farm, he taught school, worked upon the Erie Canal, toured four or five states as a tramp printer, studied law and operated a river steamboat. It was during these years of hardship that he stored up those riches of experience and observation which stood him in good stead in later life. It was in 1839 that young Van Horn entered the office of the *Indiana County (Pa.) Register* as an apprentice and began his career as a journalist.

Up to the time of the Civil War Col. Van. Horn was a Democrat—a Douglas Democrat in the campaign of 1860. After secession he turned Republican and remained a staunch supporter of that party. He was a warm friend and admirer of Lincoln and Grant and in the convention of 1880 was one of the 306 delegates who stood for Grant for a third term.

Perhaps one of the secrets of Col. Van Horn's success was his wonderful versatility and comprehensive knowledge of men and affairs. Few men are capable of engaging with equal success in more than one line of work. Col. Van Horn won conspicuous success as a journalist, as a military leader, as a politician and as a lawmaker. In speaking of his many-